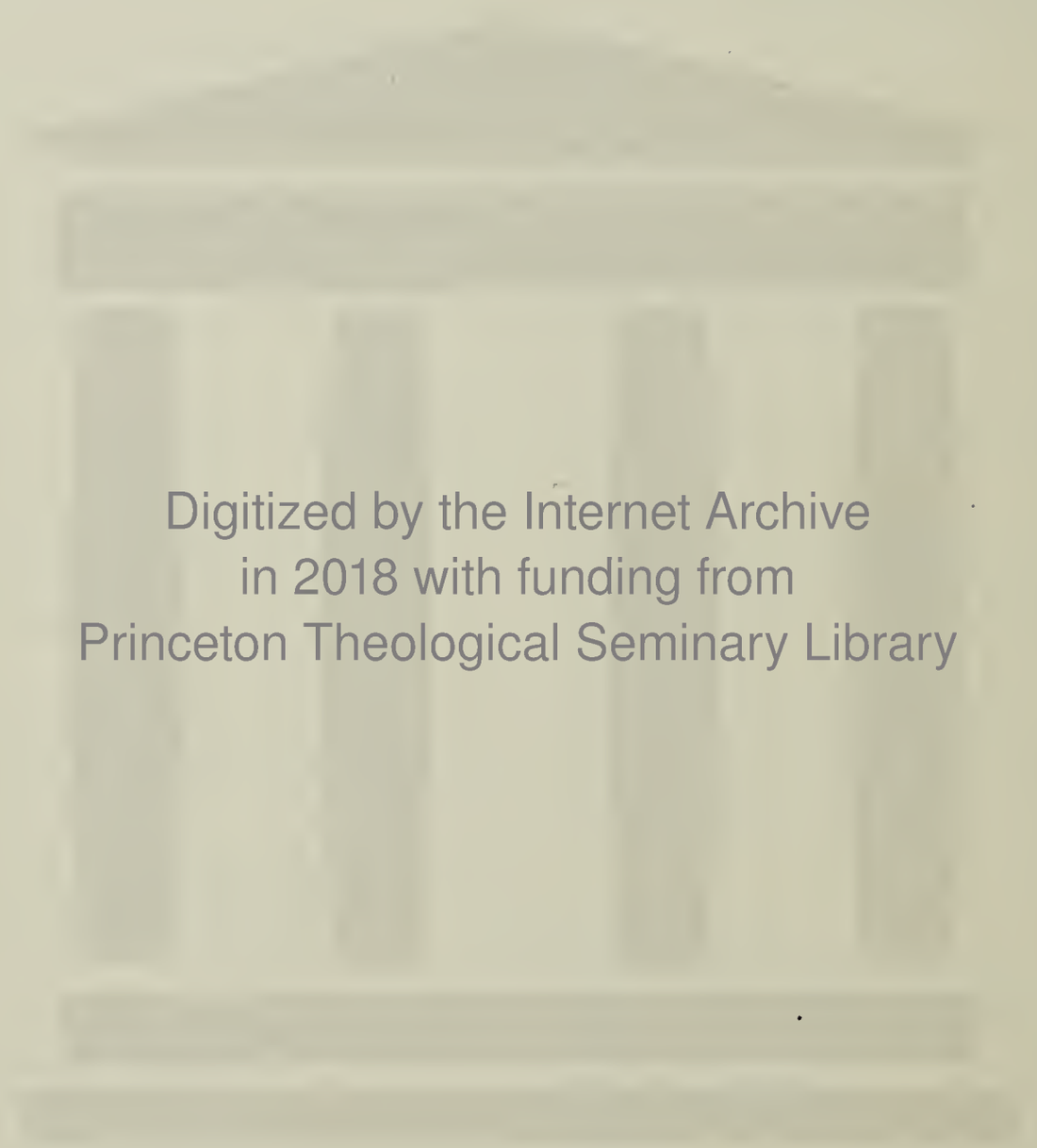

REPORT

OF THE

SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

ON

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION

1901

REPORTED BY WILLIAM J. ROSE

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LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

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PREFACE.

The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration was held, on the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, at the Lake Mohonk House, Ulster County, N. Y., May 29, 30 and 31, 1901. There were six sessions of the Conference. This Report contains the stenographic account of the proceedings, which consisted of addresses and discussions on the history of arbitration, the Hague permanent court and the means of bringing it into early operation, industrial arbitration in its international aspects, the relations of commerce to peace, and kindred topics.

One copy of this Report is sent to each member of the Conference. If other copies are desired, application should be made to Mr. Smiley.

THE SEVENTH LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

First Session.

Wednesday Morning, May 29, 1901.

The Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration met for its seventh annual session, by invitation of Hon. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley, in the parlors of the Lake Mohonk House, on the 29th of May, 1901.

Mr. Smiley opened the Conference, at the close of the usual service of prayer, and welcomed the guests in the following words:

Mr. Smiley: It gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome you to this house at this time. It is one of the best days in my year when this Conference assembles, and I am glad to see so many men gathered here with earnest hearts and wise heads to discuss some of the great questions before the country.

I think this question of international arbitration is one of the most serious and important questions that claim the attention of Christian men and women. Although things have not worked together for the past year or two quite to our liking, still I am full of hope. I expect to live to see the day when the Court already established shall be used freely by all nations, and the great day for which we have looked so many years will come, when peace shall prevail.

This company has been gathered here at a great deal of trouble. Many people to whom we write say they cannot come, and others accept our invitation and then are prevented from coming. But we have here nearly two hundred invited guests, and there are some twenty-five or thirty who have accepted and who will probably be here to-day.

In looking over the list of members of this Conference, I have been very much struck with the number of people who are brainy, full of thought, full of sympathy and general intelligence, and who have the confidence of the community in which they live. We never had a conference, in my judgment, that embraced so large a number of prominent people as this Conference does. I think there are fully sixty people in this house who are capable of interesting us most intelligently for an hour each.

There are also a large number of persons here capable of presiding with dignity and ability over the Conference. In looking over the list my eye rested on the name of one man whom I have known for many years, and I looked over the list the second time and struck the same man. Then I mentioned it to my brother, and he said, "That's just the thing." I refer to a man of wide experience in the world, a man who occupies a high position in his own State, a man of wide sympathies, clear-cut intellect, and one who will preside with dignity, and will be able to control the Conference if the members go amiss in any way. He lives in a little State, but it is a wise State. I lived in it nineteen years, and I have a great respect for it. Its citizens think the world of the man to whom I refer, and they have put him at the head of their judiciary as Chief Justice of the State.

Mr. Smiley then nominated Judge Stiness of Rhode Island as President of the Conference, and he was unanimously elected.

On taking the chair, JUDGE STINESS spoke as follows:

Mr. Smiley, Ladies and Gentlemen: While I highly appreciate the honor which our host has accorded to me, at the same time I cannot but be painfully impressed with the fact that the political methods of New York extend even to this altitude of natural and moral atmosphere. The "boss" makes his selection, and then graciously accords to the people the privilege of confirming it. [Laughter.]

It is rather embarrassing to be called upon to preside over a body that has no stated membership, no constitution, no by-laws and no rules of order. But there is a comforting thought in connection with it, and that is that a body of this kind does not need any rules of order, and there is nothing therefore for a presiding officer to do but to listen to interesting addresses and to look into the faces of a distinguished and attractive audience.

Before entering upon these arduous duties, however, I want to call attention to two things. The first is the development of this Conference. It occurred to me while Mr. Smiley was speaking that this is the seventh year that we have been called together, and my mind at once ran over the different phases of this question that have come up from year to year.

When we first met it was as idealists, for the purpose of impressing upon the minds of the people of this country the importance, the justice and the practicability of international arbitration. I think some people applied to us the name of "rainbow chasers" — we had a very beautiful thing in sight, but we never could reach it. But as one or two years went on we found that not only through the work and influence of this Conference, but through the interest which it stirred in other places and ways, sentiment grew throughout the country until it crystallized into a proposed treaty of arbitration between the two great English-speaking powers, England and America. It seemed as if the subject were outrunning us.

And then we gathered again under the gloom of a defeated treaty, and it seemed as if, after all, the governments were not ready to surrender the control of questions between themselves and other nations into the hands of any tribunal, even though it were a mere arbitration tribunal selected by themselves.

While that gloom was resting upon us, while we were wondering what to do, when we came together again we found that far off in Russia had come a voice unexpected, like a cry out of the wilderness, that called the whole world to consider the question.

Then as we met again two years ago, at the same time that the Conference was sitting at the "House in the Wood" in the Netherlands, we found that we were not alone, but that the diplomats of all the civilized nations were gathered together to consider the very same question, and to act upon it. You know the glorious outcome of their work. The nations of the earth have declared in favor of an international tribunal for the purpose of settling international disputes.

Our *missionary* work is done. We do not need longer to educate the people up to this. We do not need to present arguments to show that it is feasible, right and just. The nations have said so by their solemn declaration.

You may ask, What else is there for us to do? the thing is accomplished. Well, it is one thing to invent a machine, and it is another thing to make it run. Now the machine has been constructed; the plan has been wrought out. It is the plan that in substance was first, if I am correctly informed, broached here at this place; it was crystallized into form by the New York Bar Association, — the noblest act which can ever honor the name of that association. That having been accepted by the governments of the world, why should we further consider the question of international arbitration?

Well, there are several reasons. In the first place, it is a very easy thing to make declarations upon paper; it is a somewhat difficult thing to carry those declarations into action. We all know how long it was in the history of our own country before the Supreme Court of the United States was able to try a case. It was a new thing. The idea of a court having control of citizens of different states, and settling their disputes and the disputes between different states, was one that people were very slow to put into action, however much they might be satisfied as to its principles. Now, it must necessarily be very much the same thing with reference to an international court, and consequently there needs to be considered the practical question, What can be done by our government — by those whom we can influence — to put this principle into action; what can be done to set the machinery in motion?

That, I take it, is the climax to which this Conference has arrived at this time. The past is assured; the principle is established; and what we need to confer about now is, — What shall be done next? I am happy to know that there are those who have been considering this question in a practical and business-like way, and that their views will be submitted to you during the Conference.

The second thing that I wished to call your attention to is that this is a "conference." A conference is not made by talking all upon one side. Here people are free to express their opinions for or against the practicability or the wisdom either of international arbitration or of a permanent international tribunal. A conference means talking by more than one person: you are all invited to confer, and all are expected to say something or to contribute some ideas to the object which we have in view. The Business Committee makes some preliminary arrangements for addresses to be delivered at each session, but after these opening addresses the floor is open to all the members of the Conference, and all will be most cordially welcome to speak.

At the close of Judge Stiness' remarks, on motion, Mr. C. R. Woodruff and Mr. W. J. Rose were elected Secretaries of the Conference.

On motion, Mr. Alexander C. Wood of Camden, N. J., was elected Treasurer.

On motion, the following Business Committee was elected: Everett P. Wheeler, John B. Garrett, Hon. William J. Coombs, Hon. Robert Treat Paine, Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Oscar Lapham, Alden Chester, Josiah Strong, John I. Gilbert, William P. Bancroft, Benjamin F. Trueblood, Dr. Edward E. Hale, John B. Clark, John F. Anderson, Daniel Smiley, Walter S. Logan.

On motion, the following Press Committee was elected: John B. Lander, William B. Howland, C. G. Trumbull, Marshall H. Bright, S. Burns Weston.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have found it very helpful in these gatherings to have at the beginning a sort of review of what has been done in this country and in other countries upon this subject, and of what the trend of events is in different places.

The Secretary of the American Peace Society is one who not only by virtue of his office, but by his own interest and intelligence, keeps in touch with this movement throughout the world. He is the one man who can tell us all about it, so that when the Conference starts out it will be in possession of full information in regard to the condition of this work. It will be presented by the Secretary of the American Peace Society, Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood of Boston.

ADDRESS OF DR. BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference: I think it must be evident this morning to every intelligent person that the cause of international arbitration begins the twentieth century under the most encouraging auspices. The development of this Conference itself

into the body of men and women who are gathered here to-day is a sufficient evidence of that assertion.

The cause of international arbitration has a long and honorable history. Previous to the opening of the nineteenth century the subject was treated, of course, very largely from the theoretical and ideal standpoint; very little that was practical had been done. I suppose it is proper to date the origin of the international arbitration cause from about the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Emeric Crucé — or Emery de La Croix, as he is ordinarily known in history — first recommended that national disputes be submitted to arbitration. From that on, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, a number of distinguished men, like Hugo Grotius, William Penn and Immanuel Kant, advocated the idea. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century nothing practical had been done in the way of experimenting with arbitration. There had been a few so-called arbitrations between petty princes, or between the members of great houses, and now and then between vassal nations by their overlord; but arbitrations between independent nations, in the sense in which we speak of them, were unknown a hundred years ago.

Beginning with the opening of the nineteenth century, we find that there were no cases of arbitration in the first decade. In the second decade there was but one. There were four cases from 1820 to 1830. Then the number of arbitrations gradually increased, until during the decade just closed there were sixty-three important controversies between the nations of the world settled by this means [applause]; that is, an average of more than six a year for the whole ten years. At the present time, the opening year of the first decade of this century, there are about a dozen cases of arbitration pending.

We have been able at last, after long and careful investigation, to determine with tolerable accuracy the whole number of cases which have been settled by this means during the past century. In a book published last year by Dr. Darby of London, entitled "International Tribunals,"— a book which I hold in my hand,— the number of cases runs up to one hundred and ninety-five settled during the century just closed, a very large number of them during the last quarter of the century.

I find in looking over these cases that about seventy-five out of the one hundred and ninety-five were settled by mixed commissions or "joint high commissions," as they are called. Though these commissions involve the principle of arbitration in a measure,— the appeal to reason,— it is hardly right to call them arbitrations in the strict sense. These mixed commissions, instead of being selected from disinterested nations, are usually appointed from the two or three nations which are parties to the dispute, as our present Joint High Commission to settle the disputes between this country and Canada. At the same time, the settlements by these commissions are arbitrations in the sense of taking disputes out of the hands of passion and brute force and turning them over to reason, conscience and common sense.

I have been much interested in tracing out the particular nations which have during the century submitted cases to arbitration, and the number of cases to which the different nations have been parties. This long list, which has been carefully compiled and published, shows that the United States has settled 62 disputes with other nations either by joint commissions or by arbitral boards. I had supposed, up to the past year, that the United States had led in the number of cases, but I find that this is not the case. Great Britain has surpassed us, and her number of cases during the century has run up to 77. However, so far as the pure arbitrations are concerned, those by arbitral boards, the United States seems to have been in the lead. France, during the century, has settled 23 cases by arbitration; Chili has settled 15; Germany, 10; Spain, 12; Holland, 6; Denmark, 2; Russia, 4; Brazil, 11; the Argentine Republic, 9; Bolivia, 2; Peru, 9; Mexico, 5; Belgium, 3; Siam, 2; Hayti, 6; Greece, 3; Turkey, 2; Italy, 7; Portugal, 9; Austria, 1; Liberia, 1; Japan, 2; China, 2; Colombia, 10; Costa Rica, 4; Venezuela, 10; Paraguay, 2; Ecuador, 3; Nicaragua, 3; Guatemala, 1; Afghanistan, 3; Persia, 3; San Domingo, 1; Salvador, 1; Norway and Sweden, 1. This list shows thirty-seven nations to have been parties to the settlement of disputes in this way.

You will see from this list that the international arbitration movement has spread itself practically over the whole of the civilized, and a great portion of the semi-civilized, world. When you reckon up this long list of nearly two hundred arbitrations and set it over against the number of wars of the last century, you see that more cases of dispute have been settled by arbitration than have led to war. Yet there are people still living who dare to say that arbitration has no international standing, and can never supplant war.

But this is not the whole case for our cause. These one hundred and ninety-five cases settled by arbitration constitute only one line of the movement. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden,— in fact, nearly all of the nations which have constitutional governments,— have passed resolutions, some of them by unanimous vote, favoring the general employment of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes.

That is not the whole case. There are at the present time three important international organizations the purpose of which is to promote the organization of a general permanent system of international arbitration.

As this is an arbitration and not a peace conference in the wide sense, I need only allude to the fact that the peace societies — of which there are one hundred general ones with three hundred and eighty-nine branches, making a total of four hundred and eighty-nine peace organizations in different countries — have from the beginning advocated international arbitration as the only rational method of settling disputes between nations. I was looking up the work of the first peace society in this country, the old Massachusetts

society, and I found that in the very beginning of its work in 1815, arbitration as a means of settling disputes was strongly advocated, as it has been ever since by every peace association.

But the organizations to which I more specifically refer are, first, the Institute of International Law, a body of experts which has been meeting for the past thirty years in the capitals of Europe and studying all the problems of international law, but especially the problem of bringing international disputes to the bar of reason for settlement. The second of these organizations is the International Law Association, the president of which this year is Judge Simeon E. Baldwin of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. This association has from the beginning made one of its chief purposes the organization of an international court of arbitration.

But there is another organization, superior to either of these in influence, the Interparliamentary Peace Union, which was organized twelve years ago. It has grown, until at the present time it has a membership of about fifteen hundred. A majority of many of the Houses of Representatives of the European nations are members of the Union, which I consider the most important unofficial body of public men in the world. The fact that we begin the century with fifteen hundred statesmen, national legislators, organized into an international body, is strong ground of encouragement to believe that the nations will during the coming century submit practically all their disputes to arbitration, and that there will be no more place for war.

I might allude also to the fact that there are a number of conferences like this in different countries which have been taking place for several years past. Such conferences are a part of the arbitration organization which is one of the fixed phenomena of the time. The movement is too widely and thoroughly organized ever to cease its work until it has accomplished its purpose. This, I think, is our supreme ground of confidence. It is not the fact that there have been one hundred and ninety-five cases of arbitration, not the fact that thirty-seven nations have been parties to these arbitrations, that gives us most hope; but the fact that the principle of international arbitration has gained such a permanent place in public appreciation that it now has an organized and continuous life. It will not be many years, Mr. Chairman, before the newspapers of the country will find this out. [Applause.]

I need only hint at the development of the principle of treaties of arbitration. You know how in the earlier years of this Conference we worked for a treaty between this country and Great Britain. Since that time Italy and the Argentine Republic have drawn up a general treaty by which they have pledged themselves to refer all disputes which arise between them to arbitration. The Argentine Republic has also been negotiating for similar treaties with her neighbors, Chili, Paraguay and Uraguay. One of the principal objects of the peace congresses, of this Conference and all similar conferences, is to secure specific treaties between nations by which

they shall agree to refer their differences either to the Hague Court or to some arbitral tribunal which shall be named.

Of course the great event of the past century was the setting up of the Hague Court. You will remember that in this Conference in the year 1896, I think, the Hon. Robert Earl prophesied that a permanent tribunal of the world would not be set up within the lifetime of any person then present. If a hundred years ago anybody had prophesied that by the end of the century a great tribunal representing twenty-six powers and more than five-sixths of the territory and of the population of the globe would be set up, he would have been declared to be the wildest and absurdest of dreamers. Yet what that wildest and absurdest of dreamers might have prophesied, and what Judge Earl said only five years ago was beyond all expectation, has occurred — in how brief a period of time!

On the 18th of May two years ago the Hague Conference met. One hundred distinguished men from twenty-six powers, representing, as I said, more than five-sixths of the population and of the territory of the globe, met at The Hague, and after ten weeks of deliberation, conducted in the finest spirit of harmony, which grew to the very end,— a spirit which would have been an honor to any national assembly, — provided by treaty for a permanent court for the pacific settlement of international disputes.

Since that time one after another of the nations represented at The Hague has ratified that convention; until at the present time only China, Turkey and the little Grand Duchy of Luxemburg (the whereabouts of which very few people know) remain who have not ratified the treaty. Sixteen of these powers, according to the latest information, have appointed their members of the Court — fifty-two members in all.

On the 13th of April just past there went out from The Hague, over the wires and the cables to all parts of the earth, what I consider the most important political message that ever passed over them. It was sent by Dr. William H. de Beaufort, Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom the convention makes the president of the Administrative Council of the Permanent Court. This message was sent to all the twenty-six powers, and indirectly to the other powers of the world: that the Court was then definitely established and ready for business. [Applause.] That is the auspices under which we begin the twentieth century.

I have been amazed at the ignorance of this great fact that there is in the public mind. When Dr. de Beaufort sent this message out, the newspapers — so far as I could find — gave about one inch to the text of it, and another inch (some of them nearly two inches) to the head lines. And that for a single day only. That is, they gave probably less than one-twentieth of the space ordinarily given to the most contemptible prize fight to this most important public message ever sent abroad over the earth. Still, we begin the century under encouraging auspices.

To outline a little the work of this Conference, I should like to

say what I think should be done next. I had expected that by this time our friend Dr. Hale, who has been one of the leaders for twenty-five years in the promotion of the idea of an international court, would be singing, like Simeon of old in the Temple:

> "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant hence in peace depart,
> Since on these dim and waiting eyes this happy sight hath burst."

But I find Dr. Hale isn't singing any such song; he seems more anxious to live than ever before. [Applause.] And he is about the only man in this country that since the Hague Court was actually assured has been, in season and out of season, in the newspapers and in the magazines, and in all sorts of ways, trying to inform the people of the nation that such a thing has occurred, and that it means something.

One of the first things for this Conference to do, for all intelligent peace lovers to do, is to try to inform our great public of seventy-six millions of people that this Court actually *exists*, and that it is ready to settle the disputes between the nations. Nine out of every ten, I fear, of our fellow-citizens know practically nothing about it. One of the most scholarly men in Rhode Island (not our Chairman) wrote to me within a week, and wanted to know how many judges had been appointed to the Court, when it was opened, how many cases had been submitted to it, how many cases it had already decided — and a lot of other things. One of the most important things that we can do in our individual capacities and as a conference is to promote the knowledge of the existence of the Court.

Another thing I think we ought to do, and that is to bring all the power we can to bear upon the governments to get them to begin at as early a period as possible to submit their controversies to the Court. It will take time; the use of it is only voluntary; there is nothing compulsory about it. Still, I do not believe that very much time will pass before the governments will begin to refer cases to it. Such nations as Great Britain and the United States, France, Italy and the rest, that have gone to the trouble of setting up the tribunal, are not going to belittle themselves by allowing it to die for want of something to do.

There is a third thing that we ought to do as a conference and as individuals. The United States and Great Britain have led in the referring of cases to arbitration; they have led in the development of public sentiment in favor of an international court. It is true, the initiative came from Russia, but the work was not done in Russia that made the demand upon the nations for the Court. It was done primarily in these two countries. The governments of Great Britain and the United States ought, therefore, to be the first to refer their differences to the Court. We have on hand all of the Canadian-American difficulties — five or six important ones; the commissioners have been wrestling with them for about three years, and they have not got any way along yet. Now it seems to me that the thing that the United States and Great Britain ought to do is to take this whole

matter out of the hands of the Joint High Commission and at once submit it to the Hague Court. It is also of the first importance that we push as fast as it will go the idea of a permanent treaty between these two English-speaking peoples, by which they shall obligate themselves to submit all future difficulties to the Hague Court which they have been most instrumental in setting up.

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish to confess to the next speaker, and ask his absolution. Some years ago, at one of these conferences, the Rev. Dr. Hale, instead of speaking upon what seemed to us to be the important and pressing fact of the pending treaty between this country and Great Britain, with his customary insight and vigor stood for a permanent tribunal. He hammered it into our heads then, and he has finally hammered it into the heads of the nations [applause]; he said at the time that he was a twentieth century man, and we believed it.

Some of us lawyers said: "Of course these arbitrations will ultimately lead to a permanent tribunal; but that is a thing of the future, and so far in the twentieth century that we had better give our attention to the practical measure before us." Dr. Hale was like Balaam standing upon the heights overlooking Israel; he saw the whole field, we didn't. Therefore it gives me pleasure to call upon him as a prince of statesmen and of international lawyers.

ADDRESS OF DR. E. E. HALE.

I must thank our New England President for this flattering way in which he speaks of a New Englander; and in this presence one wishes to thank the lawyers who are present for the New York Bar Association, which put in form for the first time the great plans which have been wrought out now.

We are standing just at one of those issues which all great causes stand in for a moment. The Prophet Isaiah must come in before Edison and those people; but the idealist does not close the story. The men of practice, the men of work, the active men — they are greater than the idealist in bringing about the realization. The man of practice is greater than the man of words, because he places the man of words before the world. Prophet? Yes, John the Baptist is a prophet; but he is greater than a prophet, because he "prepares the way of the Lord." The man who prepares the way of the Lord is greater than the man who only prophesies the way of the Lord. Nobody who has studied history at all can fail to see that the true idealist welcomes the coming of the John the Baptist.

Coming up here, as so many of you did, on the beautiful steamboat yesterday, it can hardly have happened that people's minds did not go back to an illustration of this thing, — the introduction of the great pacifying power of steam in this world. As early as 1784 a steamboat was tried on the Potomac. Late in the 90's Robert R.

Livingston obtained the exclusive right to run steamboats on the waters of New York for twenty years, if he made a steamboat run the next year; but he did not, so his rights lapsed. Livingston was a man of affairs, and he was sent over to Europe to manage that difficulty of ours about the purchase of Orleans. While he was negotiating with the Emperor Napoleon about the Mississippi, he became acquainted with a man who was showing panoramas in Paris — the inventor of the panorama — and his name was Robert Fulton. Fulton was another idealist. He went out painting portraits; went into West's office, and was a student of West's for years. But he was a "big man"; he was bigger than a prophet, let me say. Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston agreed to chip in and put a steamboat on the River Seine — and they did. They put another steamer on the River Seine; and they came over to America and put a steamboat on the Hudson, and she was named the "Clermont." When those two practical men had put their shoulders to the wheel this world was changed, and the great pacific revolution took place which came in with the introduction of steam navigation. But it took those men to follow up the idealists.

Darwin, the poet, had sung some years before:

> "Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam, afar
> Drag the slow barge or pull the rapid car."

In a dozen years after your two business men say, "Yes, amen. Praised be the Lord." They built the "Clermont" and sent her up the river in August, 1807.

Poor James Macintosh was over in India in one of the English cities, making his little pile so that he could go home and be a freeman afterwards. And he says in his journal, "An American has made a steamer go from New York to Albany in thirty hours; from New York to Albany is one hundred and sixty miles." Then Macintosh says, "Oh, that I had lived a hundred years later!" Macintosh really wished that he lived in the year 1907, because in 1907 London would be only one hundred days from Bombay. That is the wisest book man of that time. In 1809 the English minister in his diary says that he has come on from Washington to Boston to make a visit; that from the window of his friend's house on the North River he saw the "Clermont" making her tri-weekly voyage up to Albany, and then he says that neither he nor any gentleman of his suite would have risked their lives upon the "Clermont"! That is about the stage we have reached in regard to arbitration to-day. We have come to this Conference at about this moment. Every one of these conferences might have its name. I have attended, I think, four of them, and every one of them has been marked by a special characteristic. I cannot help hoping that this Conference may be marked by the fact that the practical men of this country are going to take hold of this movement. That is all I have to say this morning.

I waited upon our friend, the chief, Mr. Smiley, yesterday, and I

put into his hands this "testimony," as "we" Quakers call it. [Laughter.] I wish it might be recast and put into the hands of the Executive Committee while they prepare the little paper which we send out to the world.

There may be one or two gentlemen here who do not quite understand the processes of the two Conferences held here. Take the Indian Conference: that has been now nearly twenty years in operation. At the end of the Conference they print their report of what one hundred and fifty intelligent men who know about the Indians have said. They do not undertake to argue it, but they state the facts. I think I am perfectly safe in saying that for the last twelve years every one of those recommendations has been adopted by the next Congress of the United States. It seems to me that is a very good way to govern the country. [Laughter.] You have on the matter concerned — a limited matter — one hundred and fifty men brought together, who know most about it; you let them send to the Congress of the United States the way in which they would like to have it done. It is the custom of some men to speak of the Congress of the United States as an assembly of fools. That is not my custom. I have been a great deal in Washington; I have seen a great deal of the administration there, and I am more and more impressed with the great conscientiousness, the great wisdom, the great foresight of Congress. If they can get a definite report presented to them by one hundred and fifty men who know enough about the subject, they at least have enough wisdom and honesty to adopt the recommendations there made.

Now it is with that view that I think "our testimony" at the end of this meeting ought to be prepared. I do not think we ought to range over the whole subject. I think that we ought to lay down a definite, practical system, true and valuable on the first day of June, in the year of our Lord 1901. I do not pretend to say that I have made the best draft of the "testimony," but I hope that the committee of thirteen, whose names you heard just now, will make the draft, and I wish them to embody this "testimony" in what they prepare:

"The necessity of permanent peace is now established, not only among idealists, but among all intelligent men and women engaged in the active work of daily life.

"The brief 'testimony' which this Conference sends out annually should be addressed now to the active leaders of the nation in whatever line. Especially is it desirable that the great producers of food, who answer the prayers for daily bread of half the world, with the bankers, the merchants, the manufacturers, the educators, and all others who control the great industries of the nation, should unite in that practical direction of its affairs which shall compel universal permanent peace.

"Such men of action directed the settlement of the country. Such men secured the independence of the country. They established the constitution of the country and the constitutions of the forty-five states. They developed the industries which have called into being the enormous wealth of the country.

"It is to such men, and the great combinations which they control, that we must look now for the measures which will secure permanent peace among the nations.

"The Lake Mohonk Conference earnestly appeals to boards of trade, chambers

of commerce, to the legislatures of the states, to all unions, whether of workmen or of capitalists, to all business houses, as to all separate men and women who look and pray for the prosperity and success and advancement of this nation, to take in hand such practical measures for permanent peace as the time demands.

"The Executive Board of the Conference is requested to open and maintain communications with all who represent the great business interests of the country who are willing to join in the common work for peace among the nations."

I think this matter has got beyond the time when it can be left to the men whose profession or whose daily duty is that of poet, or author, or writer, or preacher, or singer of songs; and it has fallen to the men who direct the great interests of the country to put it forward.

I will venture to tell a little story (as Abraham Lincoln used to say) of our friend Stead, who carried through an adverse England the great measures which did so much to make the Hague Conference successful. Mr. Stead is said to have waited on three of the greatest bankers of England, who direct the largest movements of capital in this world. Each one of those gentlemen heard him; and the first two said, "Mr. Stead, you have *carte blanche* in this bank; you may draw upon it for whatever expense you need in this great Peace Crusade." The third banker said, "We don't do business in that way, but we have opened a credit of £10,000 to your honor, and when that is gone you will come to us again." Mr. Stead wanted to rent a fit, and therefore expensive, office in London; he wanted perhaps forty clerks for correspondence; he wanted to send speakers all up and down England, and to send delegates to conferences in Europe. The men who backed him up in it were the men who represented three of the richest corporations in the world; they gave him *carte blanche* to spend as much money as he wanted.

We had that thing stated here some two or three years ago. Professor Coombs, Edward Atkinson and Professor Clark showed to us in the most distinct and feasible way that all this great industry which you praise God for, all this wealth, these rivers of oil flowing up north and south, west and east, all belong to the cause of peace.

Mr. Holls showed a year ago here, in that charming speech of his, which I have read but was not able to hear, that the business went through at The Hague, not simply because they had a hundred of the wisest men in the world there, but because behind the American delegation were the American people, showing in every action that they meant to have this thing go through. He told me that thirty-six poor parsons in a town in Oregon that you never heard of put in a dollar apiece to send a cablegram to him to urge on the governments of Europe the importance of peace. He told me also that the piles of messages, coming as they did from Sunday schools and churches and boards of trade and other public bodies in America, attracted the attention of the delegates at The Hague as no other demonstrations did.

Now we want to carry that thing out a hundredfold. We want to show, in whatever way and by whatever practical measures we can adopt, that the People (with a large "P") all the way up know that

wealth as wealth is merely vulgar, and that they mean to have peace among the nations, and that the next century is going forward upon that principle.

I had meant to say something here of the effect which was produced upon the diplomacy of the world by two or three New York merchants whom I could name, when we had the terror about the Venezuelan matter. How was that flurry stopped? It was stopped because some two hundred men met together in the city of Washington, and said, "As God lives we shan't have this thing done!" It was not done. Two hundred men from forty-five States of the American Union and from five Territories of the American Union, leading men from those States and Territories,— I see a number of them here,— presidents of colleges, directors of railroads, leaders in steamboat navigation, great philosophers. I heard it said at Washington again and again that they had never had such a meeting before. How was that meeting called? Four or five New York merchants met in conference, wrote to their friends all over the country, and such men as Mr. Paine and our President here and others,— men in whom they had confidence,— met and talked the matter over for two days. We didn't hear anything about war after that. That is the sort of men that you want to enlist in this service — to get these men to recognize that all great industries depend on peace and must have peace. Peace means civilization; peace means government by law; peace means invention.

Has it ever occurred to you that while the Napoleonic wars went on none of the great inventions got themselves established in Europe. This business of the steamship had to be established over here, and it was not till after the treaty of Vienna that it was established on the rivers and lakes of Europe. It is even said that in times of war you do not make and sell as much gunpowder as in times of peace; that the gunpowder used by the armies and navies is more than offset by the amount of gunpowder not used during war in mining and other business. War breaks up the honest industries of the world, — the making of roads and of railroads and the opening of mines. The truth is that business is so much checked in every great war that the little rise in the price of beef and sausages and that sort of thing is as nothing in comparison with the industries that war abolishes.

The men of business, I think, are ready for any such proposal as this. I think we shall find that as young men come forward now at our commencements they will ask us what they can do in the cause of peace. I am going to Columbus in Ohio next month to talk to five hundred of them on that business. I shall tell them that the great future of the world is universal peace; peace between the black and the white man, and the red man and the gray and the yellow man in America. Then it is the taking out from the crowded slums of London and New York the poor white little creatures that are growing up there, and putting them on the open fields where they will be under God's sky, in the Indian Territory, on the irrigated

plains of Arizona. The great peacemakers of this century are to be the men who build the four-track railway between Quebec and the South; the men who build the four-track railway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, between Cairo and the Cape — so that we can take the people from the places where they are crowded and put them where there is plenty of room.

The men who will speak in the Mohonk Conferences ten years hence are to be the men who carry through the great practical enterprises in which God works with man and man works with God; in which the child of God shows that he bears his Father's nature by being himself a creator; in which God bids His waters flow from the Rocky Mountains, that the plough boy in Dakota who is the son of God may work God's will in turning that water into food, so that the old widow on the Grampians who prays, "Give me this day my daily bread," may have her prayer answered by the work of God and His children together. [Applause.]

Dr. Hale's motion, that his "testimony" be referred to the Executive Committee to be considered in the preparation of the platform of the Conference, was unanimously adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Hale has referred to the fact that what we want now is the advice and guidance of business men. We have with us to-day one who answers that description, — a business man, a large-hearted, broad-minded man. I have the pleasure of calling upon Mr. Edwin Ginn of Boston.

ADDRESS OF MR. EDWIN GINN.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Dr. Hale, I am afraid, is giving too much prominence to the business man. Were it not for the idealist, the preacher and the prophet who lays down the laws, the business man would have nothing to accomplish. It is this idealist that must precede the business man, make the way for and coöperate with him. For, so far as my experience has shown, the business man and the educating man do not exist in one. If you have a great financier, a strong business man, he is not generally an educator; on the other hand, if you have a scholar in the ripest sense, you have just as poor a business man. We should cut a small figure in this world with one blade of the scissors. If we accomplish this great work which is before us, it must be with the coöperation of the very same elements that have brought us to this point.

I do not know that I need to read what I have written at all, because it is, as you will see, based upon the idea which Mr. Hale has expressed so much better than I was able to. [Dr. Hale: Go on! go on!] The paper is only suggestive, and will take but five minutes to read.

"In the few moments given to me I shall ask your attention to some

practical suggestions concerning the solution of the very grave question of the reduction of the great armaments of the nations. Whoever can aid materially in that solution will render a great service to humanity. The most we can hope is to give hints merely. The question has for centuries engaged the attention of the most thoughtful men, and to-day we seem farther than ever from a practical solution. Our armies and navies are larger and the war taxes heavier than ever before.

"It is now about two years since the hearts of all lovers of peace were made glad by the treaty providing for the establishment of the Court of Arbitration by the nations at The Hague; but, unfortunately, that treaty has had very little to do in the settlement of difficulties between nations since then. The wars go on just the same now as ever.

"It is well known that many of the nations were very lukewarm participants in the setting up of an arbitration court, and nearly all doubtful of its utility. Even those most zealous in its formation have seriously discredited it by refusing to refer their own contentions to it, and by engaging in aggressive war on the old plan of 'might makes right.' They lack confidence in each other and in the Court, which has no physical power to enforce its decisions. Each feels safer to trust its destinies to its own strong battalions and ships of war.

"These, we must all recognize, are the great obstacles to peace — want of confidence and the large armaments on land and sea. Unfortunate as this Chinese war has been, it may yet prove an inestimable blessing to the whole world. It may be the first step in changing the basis for settling disputes. We have here an international army, working as a unit, marching shoulder to shoulder, sharing privations and dangers in common, under the command of a general of one of the powers. Without friction? No! The nations have so long worked on another basis that perfect harmony was not to be expected at first; but that they should have been able so long to work together, and each day with greater harmony and confidence, means much in the solution of the greatest problem of the world.

"Can we now make this international army and navy permanent? If we can, the next great step will have been taken. This force must be continued, not as an extra expense, but as a part of present armaments. With the Chinese difficulty settled, we shall lack community of interest to hold it together. The nations are so heavily burdened that they cannot stand any additional expense. I can see but one practical way, namely, to ask the governments to contribute proportionately from their present forces. This contribution should be so small as not in the least to arouse the jealousy of any of the powers. The force must be a small one for years. It will take time to win the confidence of the powers in it, and until then it must not be so large as to be a menace. When once firmly established, each may be willing to add to it gradually by diminishing its own individual force. Slowly and cautiously this force should

grow, until it has not only secured the full confidence of the powers, but has reached the strength to defend each against the aggressions of any other. When this shall be attained, there will be no need of great national armies, and because not needed they will gradually be reduced to the size required as a police force for each country. When this point is reached, the nations will be ready to submit all difficulties to the international court, as they can rely upon the strength of the international army and navy to enforce its decisions.

"Now, how can these things be accomplished? That is the one question we are anxious to solve, but it is one that is so large that we need the coöperation of the best men and women we can secure. We must all realize that we have to grapple with the greatest force in all the world, the war power that has been in existence for so many centuries, with unlimited resources of wealth and men, which has worked out the most complete system of organization that has ever been known. We should have the history and literature on this subject gathered for us. This has already been provided for, as two of our number are to spend a year abroad in gleaning information concerning the best things that have been said on peace and war, and ascertaining the prevailing feeling among the leading people on the other side. We should have a committee appointed to consult with the great men of the land as to what steps must be taken to organize a force that can cope with the war power. This committee should be made up of men who have made great successes in executive work, — men like Carnegie, Wanamaker and J. Pierpont Morgan; of statesmen like Hoar, Edmunds, T. B. Reed; and of educators like Eliot of Harvard, Low of Columbia, and Hadley of Yale. We want not alone the wealthy men, but those men who have shown great organizing power to marshal the forces needed to accomplish any great result.

"There is a great deal in our favor. All the best interests of civilization are with us. Every department of industry, of agriculture, of art, of education, — in fact, the whole social fabric, — is with us. It is all unorganized, and very few are giving any considerable attention to this question. The interest of the people must be aroused. We should have a journal reaching every home weekly with the literature that would be of interest on this subject, edited by the ablest man we can secure. We should form clubs all over the country; we should have a statesman of ability to give his whole time to this work, as well as a strong financier to aid in carrying it on. This will take money. A million dollars is the least with which we could think of starting the enterprise."

I wish to make one suggestion in furtherance of what I have read. I am a great believer in able men and women devoting their whole time to whatever they wish to accomplish. I am not in favor of giving any business to any man on earth for two or three days in the year. If we mean to accomplish this great object which has been so well planned, we must have permanent help; we must have

the ablest men in the whole land; the executive forces must be permanent to be of any value.

Now this permanent force will cost a great deal of money. But we spend hundreds of millions a year for war; can we afford to spend one million for peace? That is the question before us. I have talked with a great many people about this during the past year, and from that conversation I am able to vouch for this business the sum of one hundred thousand dollars. I should like to see a fund of one million dollars established during the next year, for before we have the work accomplished we shall have to spend much money. Five millions of men who depend upon war for their livelihood and for position will not be dislodged very easily. I should like to see a fund of one million dollars established before we marshal our forces. I should like also to see a committee appointed that should include some of the names I have already suggested, with other men of great ability in organization and financeering, who could tell us what we ought to do and what was necessary to accomplish it.

The subject was then opened for discussion under a time limit of five minutes.

Dr. Hale: The immediate question before us seems to be, Should not the United States government have a Secretary of Peace as well as a Secretary of War?

Mr. Alexander C. Wood: I have a letter from England which contains a message for this Conference. It is from Mr. Walter Hazell, the treasurer of the Peace Society of England, a member of Parliament and a man of large affairs. I will read it to the Conference:

9 Russell Square, London, April 22, 1901.

Dear Mr. Wood: I am very pleased to have your letter, and only regret that circumstances prevent my being at the Mohonk Conference.

I wish that I could send to it congratulations upon recent progress in the movement towards peace, but the war in which your country has been recently engaged, and the war which, alas! still devastates South Africa, show how far we are off from the realization of our ideals. But as you ask for a message from me, I write to say that we must persevere, year after year, and it may be generation after generation, in the belief that at last, under God's good guidance, reason will triumph over brute force, and war will give place to a rational system of arbitration. No disasters of the kind through which we are now passing can shake our faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles which we know to be true.

With much respect,

Yours sincerely,

Alex. C. Wood, Esq. WALTER HAZELL.

Dr. Hale: I do not see the gentleman present who, I think, meant to make the statement which I make now, which is, that our lamented companion and friend, General Harrison, the head of our judges in the Hague tribunal, expressed during the latest weeks of his life his intention of being present at this Conference. He was

greatly interested in this work, and was looking forward to it with great enthusiasm.

I will say, because I think it may have escaped the attention of some of those present, that General Harrison's description of and reference to the Hague Conference, in his closing speech at the Venezuelan arbitration, is one of the greatest tributes which the Hague Conference has ever had, and shows how deeply he felt on the subject. He was the counsel for the Republic of Venezuela in that arbitration at Paris, and it was that fact that prevented his attendance at The Hague. But he followed its proceedings with interest, and he testified to its value.

In his final argument before the arbitration tribunal upon the controversy between Venezuela and Great Britain, General Harrison used this language: "Mr. President, it has been to me a matter of special interest that the president of this tribunal, after his designation by these two contending nations for that high place which assigned to him the duty of participating in practical arbitration between nations, was called by his great sovereign to take part in a convention which, I believe, will be counted to be one of the greatest assemblies of the nations that the world has yet seen, not only in the personnel of those who are gathered together, but in the wide and widening effect which its resolutions are to have upon the intercourse between nations in the centuries to come. There was nothing, Mr. President, in your proceedings at The Hague, that so much attracted my approbation and interest as the proposition to constitute a permanent court of arbitration. It seems to me that if this process of settling international differences is to commend itself to the nations, it can only hope to set up for the trial of such questions an absolutely impartial judicial tribunal. If conventions, if accommodation, and if the rule of 'give and take' are to be used, then let the diplomatists settle the question; but when these have failed in their work, and the question between two great nations is submitted for judgment, it seems to me necessarily to imply the introduction of a judicial element into the controversy." I have taken this report of Mr. Harrison's remarks from "The Peace Conference at The Hague," by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L., a member of the Conference from the United States.

Mr. John B. Garrett: I wish to ask a question. I have very great confidence in the suggestion which Dr. Trueblood made in his able address, that one of the most practical methods which this Conference could adopt would be the encouragement of our government to submit to the Court which has been established at The Hague some vital question that it has at issue.

I would like to ask Dr. Trueblood whether he knows of any question, except the boundary question he has referred to, which our government could submit to this Court, and so prove to the world that the United States of America is sincere in its intention to adopt the judicial rather than the military method of settling international disputes? I ask the question because it seems to me

that if there is any issue outside that which is now before the Joint High Commission, it will be much more speedily reached by our influence upon the government at Washington than one which is now in charge of a commission, where we would have to break up an existing reference.

Dr. Trueblood: I do not think there is at the present time any controversy of importance between the United States and any other country that has not already been referred to arbitration. In addition to the boundary question referred to the Joint High Commission, there is also an important controversy between the United States and Russia,— the question of the seizure of Russian sealing vessels by the United States in the Behring Sea; but this has also been referred.

I mentioned the difficulties with Canada because the Joint High Commission has been working upon them for two or three years, and has made no headway. It seems to me that, in the present unsatisfactory state of the commission, the chairmen of both sections of it having died, our government and the British government, if properly approached, would be glad to take the matter out of the hands of the commission and let it go to the Court at The Hague. Russia would probably be glad also to take this course in the matter of the sealers' case, because she has suggested that the Chinese indemnity question should go to the Court, and the Czar seems anxious to get the tribunal into operation at the earliest practicable date.

Mr. Francis Forbes: There is a subject which, it seems to me, may well be referred to the Business Committee, and that is the meeting of the Pan-American Conference this coming October. It seems from the newspapers that this conference is in danger of being given up because of the attitude of Peru towards arbitration. The reason that Peru is not willing to attend this conference is because of a certain piece of land which was taken from her by Chili in the late war, and which is very valuable on account of the chemical deposits which are there. She wishes any arbitration plan which may be adopted by the conference to cover past as well as future cases. If we could do something in this matter, it would be right in line with the very luminous and instructive address which we have had on the commercial side of the peace question.

Major Marshall H. Bright: Perhaps I may say to the Conference that a distinguished journalist of New York returned recently from Washington, and in an interview that he had with one of the strong men of President McKinley's Cabinet, he was informed that all the resources of the government were being brought to bear upon the differences between the South American countries, in order that they might be removed and that the conference to which Mr. Forbes has referred might be held. I have heard from other sources that this is undoubtedly true. I speak of this particularly now because

it serves to recall the admirable and very able address which Mr. Kasson delivered here some three or four years ago, in which he showed that in our movement for arbitration the offices of diplomacy were not to be overlooked.

I should be very glad if Dr. Trueblood would explain what I have not yet been able to see,— why an arbitration effected by a joint high commission is not quite as satisfactory and may not be more effective than submitting a question to the Court at The Hague. In regard to the boundary disputes between this country and Canada, the question suggests itself to me whether a joint high commission present here, taking in the whole situation and familiar with the past history of the country, may not be better qualified to pass upon a purely local question than the Court at The Hague three thousand miles away. I think Mr. Kasson showed conclusively that we could not afford to overlook diplomatic measures, and I don't understand that the Court at The Hague is necessarily to supersede joint high commissions.

Mr. R. B. Benedict: I would like to ask Dr. Trueblood whether in the one hundred and ninety-five cases which he mentions as having been submitted to arbitration, each joint commission has been considered as one case, because I know that single joint commissions have disposed of many cases.

Dr. Trueblood: There have been nothing like as many commissions or boards of arbitration as there have been cases. I should say, at a guess, that there have been at the outside not more than one hundred commissions or boards of arbitration for the one hundred and ninety-five cases.

I fear Mr. Bright confuses diplomacy and arbitration commissions. What is now before the Joint High Commission is out of the hands of diplomacy as ordinarily understood, and is in the hands of an arbitration commission, specially appointed for the cases in question. As between the award of a commission and that of a regularly organized and permanent court, there may appear to be no difference in the results; but it seems to me that there is a very wide difference in the value to the world, in giving arbitration prestige, between the decision of a commission representing only two nations and that of a court representing twenty-six. In the latter case, the award has the united support of the whole civilized world; in the former, it is hardly known beyond the two nations which are parties to the dispute. The decision of a regular court always carries much greater weight than that of a body of men picked up for the occasion.

Mr. James Wood: Mr. John B. Garrett asked Dr. Trueblood whether there were any cases now at issue between the government of Great Britain and our own that might be referred to the International Court. I have waited for reference to be made to one that is urgent at the present time,— the question of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. This involves the question not yet determined as to the

permanency of treaties when the conditions under which they were formed have completely changed. It is a question in which the governments of the world generally are concerned, and in the circumstances attending the discussion of the proposed Nicaragua Canal it gravely concerns these two countries. It is the apparent determination of the people of this country that the Nicaragua Canal shall be built by our government, and the governments are not agreed as to the abrogation of the treaty which appears to stand in the way.

A century ago the issue would have probably resulted in war. We cannot expect anything of the kind at the present time. Yet it seems to me that this is an issue with which the International Court of Arbitration is peculiarly qualified to deal. We should all regret hasty or ill-considered action on the part of our government; yet we may look forward to the certain throwing aside of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty at the next session of Congress, unless the two governments agree to leave the question — in the principle of which the whole civilized world is interested — to this high Court of the nations of the earth.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins: I rise only to make one suggestion. It is in relation to what Dr. Hale said about ex-President Harrison. I suppose we all feel that in the great loss which the American people have sustained we share in a peculiar way by being deprived of his presence here. It has occurred to me that it would be a very proper thing for our Business Committee to make a suitable allusion to the loss which has occurred by his death; all the more so because he was one of the four commissioners appointed by this country to represent us in the Permanent Tribunal.

Mr. A. K. Smiley: I have been thinking over something this morning which I have often thought of, and have always run upon a difficulty. We should like very much to make this Conference a permanent body. You can see the difficulty. This house holds only four hundred people, and we have invited five or six hundred to this Conference; we cannot invite the same persons every year and at the same time make room for other prominent people whom we wish to have come. I have been thinking whether we could not enlarge our Business Committee from fifteen to twenty or twenty-five members, and make it a permanent body, so that it could meet in the winter, and try to secure the attendance at this Conference of more men of large influence and large means — such men as have been named here this morning. We send year after year invitations to prominent men, who would be here if they had proper influence brought to bear upon them. We here cannot do it alone. We must have a body to represent this Conference, its ideas and spirit, and push things on during the year, instead of having three days' discussion and then letting the matter drop. Of course we here at the house must decide who shall be invited; but we ought to have this permanent body to work all through the year and to suggest suitable persons to be invited.

Rev. Philip S. Moxom: I should like to make a motion. I have been thinking along the same line as that suggested by Mr. Smiley. Of course it is impossible that this Conference should be made permanent, but that it should have a limited and somewhat restricted permanency is possible. I offer the suggestion that the Business Committee be raised to twenty-one, one-third of whom shall retire each year; and I move that the subject of reorganizing the Business Committee be referred to the present committee, to be reported on at some future time in the Conference.

This motion was adopted.

Mr. Smiley called the attention of the Conference to a large portrait of Col. George E. Waring (president of the Conference one year) hanging on the wall of the parlor near the Chairman, and said: "Many of you knew and admired Colonel Waring, as the whole country admired him. Mr. Baily of Philadelphia sent me this portrait, and I place it here so that you may all see it."

Adjourned at 12.30 P. M.

Second Session.

Wednesday Evening, May 29, 1901.

The Conference was called to order at 8 P. M. by the President.

The Treasurer's report was read and adopted and placed on file.

After reading his report, the Treasurer, Mr. Alexander C. Wood, said:

You will observe that nothing was paid by the Treasurer on account of the mailing and distribution of the ten thousand copies of the Report of last year's Conference. This is a very considerable sum, and has been paid, as heretofore, by our generous host. It is a matter, I think, for the Conference to consider, whether it is quite right for him to bear that burden.

The Treasurer then moved that a Finance Committee be appointed for the purpose of assisting him in receiving the contributions of the members of the Conference for the publication fund, and it was voted that the President should appoint this committee.

The Finance Committee was announced, consisting of Messrs. Ginn, Baily and Forbes.

The Chairman announced the general topic for the evening: "After The Hague — What?" The subject was opened by Mr. Walter S. Logan, president of the New York State Bar Association, who was followed by Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D., of Springfield, Mass., Rev. Charles F. Dole of Jamaica Plain, Boston, Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University and Mr. Everett P. Wheeler of New York City.

ADDRESS OF WALTER S. LOGAN OF NEW YORK.

On Monday of this week, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a decision which is perhaps the most important and the most far-reaching in its consequences of any decision ever rendered by a judicial tribunal since judicial tribunals began. It was a decision which affected the very structure of the government of the United States, and which determined the relations of that government to its citizens and to other peoples who may be dependent upon us, perhaps, for all time to come. It was a decision which affected the relations of millions of people to each other and to the government to which they owe allegiance or which gives them

protection. It was a decision which must determine the policy of our government for perhaps untold generations.

The question at issue was of such a doubtful and uncertain nature that the court stood only five to four, so that the decision was rendered by a majority of only one, with some of the strongest judges of the court in the minority. Wars of untold horror have been waged in times gone by to settle questions of far less importance than were settled by this decision — without settling them. Rivers of blood have flowed in the vain effort to accomplish a result such as was accomplished by the Supreme Court of the United States in a decision which causes scarcely more than a ripple in the current of the life of the people of this great nation.

Many of us think — I am one of them — that the principles enunciated in the opinion of the majority of the court were not the law of the land until the decision was rendered. We all accept it, without question, as the law now.

The Supreme Court of the United States is composed of nine judges, nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and holding office for life. The personnel of the court is by no means ideal. The judges are all honest, conscientious men, but not more than three of them at the outside can be said to be great men. The court, neither in the method of its appointment, nor in the tenure of its office, nor in its personnel, is an ideal court.

I believe in an elective rather than an appointive judiciary; I believe in a fixed term of office rather than in a life tenure, and I think the present personnel of the court could be very much improved; and yet, the Supreme Court of the United States, as it is, is the most august tribunal on earth and the greatest factor in the world's civilization. This is not because of the superior ability of the judges who compose it, or the superior wisdom of its decisions, but simply because it is the court of last resort of a great nation, having jurisdiction to determine not only disputes between individual citizens of the nation, but the rights of states and the relations of the national government itself to its people.

I believe that the system that has worked so well in the United States, and made this nation what it is, is a system which, if applied to the world at large, will effect a beneficent revolution in the world's civilization, and that the independent permanent judiciary system which has done so much for the United States can do more for the world.

The judiciary is especially the protector of the laboring masses of the people. It is their bulwark. The best friend of the laborer at his bench is the judge on his bench. The judiciary means peace and order. Industrial conditions require peace and order. The welfare of the laboring masses demands that there shall be peace and order throughout the nations of the world. The people who suffer by domestic disorder and foreign wars are the common people of the nations. As the judge is the friend, so is the soldier the enemy, of the laboring man. It is to the perfection of the judiciary

and the extension of its functions in the government of the nations to which the laboring man and the masses of the people of the world must look for relief from past and present conditions that have ground them down.

If I were writing the history of the world to-day, I should cluster that history around three great events.

One great event occurred at Runnymede, some seven hundred years ago, when the barons of England gathered together on that green isle one summer afternoon, and before the sun had set had wrested from the unwilling hands of King John the Great Charter of Anglican liberty. From that day to this, political and constitutional liberty has been assured to every man in the world who spoke the English tongue.

The next great event, I believe, was the United States Constitutional Convention of 1787, and the great work of that convention, as it seems to me, was not the establishment of the executive or the legislative branch of our government, but the creation of the Supreme Court of the United States, which alone made our nation possible.

The third great event occurred just as the nineteenth century was going into history. At The Hague, the principles which guided our fathers in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 were extended to all the world, and provision was made for a Court of Nations, patterned after the Supreme Court of the United States; and now we have the inception, the germ, the beginning of the Supreme Court of the World.

The question now before us is, What next? When you are hewing the way through a wilderness and have made your first mile, what next? Why, go ahead and make the next mile; and when you have done that, go ahead with the mile after that, till you get to the sunlight beyond. When Dr. Edward Everett Hale has written one of his inspiring articles which lift us up and prepare us for the civilization that is coming, what next? Why another one, and another one, and another one, till the world is convinced and the civilization is established. When we hold a conference here at Lake Mohonk and accomplish something one summer, what next? Why another conference next summer, and keep on holding them till the cause is won.

The Conference at The Hague proceeded on absolutely correct lines. There can be no fault found with the work which they did. The only thing left to be done is to extend that work. That is what is next.

The Conference at The Hague gave us a Court. It did not — simply because it could not then — give that Court jurisdiction and power. What next? Give to the Supreme Court of the World jurisdiction over international disputes and differences, and give it, if need be, the *posse comitatus* of the nations to enforce its decrees.

We have had some disputes in former years over the question whether a court of arbitration should be a permanent court. I think that question has been settled in the affirmative. You may compromise

your dispute with your neighbor if you and he can agree upon it. You may leave it to a third neighbor if you can agree as to who it shall be. But if you don't accomplish either of these things, a lawsuit is the inevitable result, and a lawsuit — inconvenient as it may be — is by all means the simplest and the easiest way of settling a dispute that cannot be settled peaceably in any other way. We lawyers may be an evil, but we are a necessary evil, and if there be a choice of evils, we are certainly the choice. Lawyers may cause some little devastation in their clients' pockets, but these are much easier to be endured than the disorder which would otherwise ensue. It cost more to handle and suppress the Albany mob three weeks ago than all the lawyers' fees in the State of New York for the year 1901 will amount to. The cost of the powder burned at Santiago on the day of that great naval battle would pay all the lawyers' fees in the United States for a year. There is no way in which you can settle a dispute which people or nations cannot settle for themselves as cheaply as you can before a permanent court, organized to do that very business. A permanent court of nations is as much needed in our modern civilization as a permanent municipal court is needed here in the State of New York to settle individual disputes among its citizens.

Something was said this morning about the possibility of the settlement of national disputes by a joint commission. Settle them by joint commissions if you can; settle them without joint commissions if you can; but if you cannot settle them that way, there is nothing like a Supreme Court of the World, with jurisdiction, and with power to enforce its decrees, — and until that comes, the peace of the nations and the industrial liberty of the masses of the people of the world will not have been acquired in full measure.

The one thing that is needed to enable the world to get the full benefit of modern civilization and of modern inventions and improvements is the extension of the judiciary of the world so that national disputes can be settled in the same way as individual disputes are now settled.

I am not one of those who believe that peace is simply all that we should seek. Peace is a means to an end, but it is not the end itself. Peace is especially desirable under present conditions, because we are just entering upon a period of industrial development which requires peace; but I would by no means cease to celebrate the memory of those who have done good deeds to humanity by war. In the latter part of the eighteenth century the great struggle in which patriots were engaged was a struggle for human liberty, for the right of each man and each community to work out his own or its own destiny. This question had to be settled by war, because the few had seized the world and proposed to hold it and operate it for their own benefit without regard for the rights and interests of the masses. The people had to rise, and by force of arms they won their liberties. These conditions have changed. Political liberty has been acquired. Industrial liberty is what we are struggling for to-day, and the patriots

of to-day are men of peace. The patriots of one hundred and twenty-five or one hundred and fifty years ago were necessarily men of war, and let us honor them for their heroic deeds; but the patriots of peace to day are no less patriots than were the patriots of war then, and they are entitled to no less honor.

In a few weeks we are to celebrate up in Connecticut the purchase of the schoolhouse where Nathan Hale taught school, by the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. I intend to be there, and I shall do all I can to celebrate the memory of Nathan Hale and to honor the work that he did. He went down to an inglorious death for a glorious cause; but I doubt very much whether, when the history of the nations shall be finally written, the name of another man will not be written quite as high as his. The man to whom I refer is a man who bears the name of Hale, and in whose veins runs Nathan Hale's blood. I think, when the history of the patriots of this nation shall be written, the name of our own Edward Everett Hale, who has done so much in this generation for the arts of peace and for the benefit of humanity, will be written side by side with that of Nathan Hale, whose statue stands in City Hall Park, New York.

Let us honor the patriots of war of times gone by as they deserve to be honored; but let us honor and sustain the patriots of peace of to-day, who are sacrificing themselves and devoting themselves to the cause of humanity quite as much as those who went to their death a hundred and fifty years ago. Let us honor and sustain the men who are devoting themselves to the cause of peace and humanity to-day. That is next.

ADDRESS OF REV. PHILIP S. MOXOM, D. D.

I am very grateful to our President for recalling in his introduction that I was once for a short time in a lawyer's office as a student, because it gives me the opportunity to express a legal opinion.

In my humble judgment, the very important decision which has just been pronounced by the Supreme Court of the United States is so significant, and will prove to be so effective, because it is establishing as a judicial precedent what has been established as a fact for three-quarters of a century. The significant thing about the Hague Conference, in my judgment, is the fact that it evidences a movement in the mind and heart of mankind which had to express itself at last in some such organic way; and that without the precedent development of large intelligence and morality in the minds of men it would have been impossible to have the Hague Conference. The Conference itself is a result quite as much as it will prove to be a cause. Fruitful as it will be, it is a flower on the stem of the century-plant of the growing moral consciousness of mankind. It is that fact which gives us hope as to its efficacy.

I think the history of judicial decisions in our own country and in other countries will demonstrate this,—that every great judicial

decision which has been made and has been confirmed by subsequent experience has been effective because it was the expression in juridical form of a judgment already reached. I pay great homage to our Supreme Court, and to the judiciary of any civilized land; but the judiciary registers the progress that the people have made, and does not make the progress. I believe that behind the Conference at The Hague there is a sentiment which has slowly ripened into a resolved principle, — a principle that steadily and logically moved toward the expression of itself in action; and this has made possible the creation of a tribunal for the settlement of international difficulties that cannot be settled in any other way.

The Hague Conference — what next? That is a pretty big stride. Christendom and civilization spoke a tremendous word in the Hague Conference. That word remains to be made effective. Will it be done? I think it will, simply because of its antecedents and of its causes. It is a sign in the sky,— a crescent moon,— a sign of a secular movement, an ecumenical movement. We must not make mistakes: theorists are very apt to make mistakes. Programs are seldom carried out exactly as the makers of them think they will be. The General Court of Arbitration is not a panacea for all human ills; it will not be a universal specific for all sorts of difficulties. We shall have many other methods of treatment, and many other prescriptions, and many other physicians, and the usual number of quacks, for some generations to come.

Let no one think that there will not be opportunity for the use of diplomacy and for the use of a great variety of commissions and conferences; there will be. In my judgment, the Court of Arbitration will prove itself successful just in proportion to the number of cases that are settled without ever getting to it, simply because there is such a court. We hear of civil cases being settled out of court, and I have heard very humane and benignant lawyers confess that it was an admirable thing when cases were settled out of court.

But the great step has been taken; we have a machine; we have an instrument to do a certain work,— what next? We need, for one thing, a steady, wise propaganda. We need steady education: not mere cold calculations as to the cost of war; not hysterical exclamations against war, — but large, sound reasoning on human morals and human relationships, leading to the conclusion that the settlement of difficulties according to reason is the settlement that is proper to man, and that the settlement by force is never a final settlement.

It has been intimated, I think in one of the addresses of last year, that the religious press and the ministers need the influence of this Conference in order to take them out of the ranks of the jingoes. As the result of some observation through a good many years of life, I am led to the conclusion that, on the whole, the teaching and the judgment of the ministers of our country are steadily on the side of the large, rational interpretation of life; that they make for righteousness, for humanity, and for the humane settlement of international difficulties. But there certainly is need for persistent teaching in

school, in society, in the press, and in clubs and associations, of those large and just principles which have their expression in that for which we as a conference stand.

It is also of very great importance that the timidity of commerce on the one hand, and on the other hand the greed of commerce, should be changed into an intelligent understanding that war and commerce are mutually inimical; that the economic state of a people is never bettered by fighting, in itself; and that the orderly development of economic human life is along the lines of peace. By doing this, the great forces of commerce and finance will be linked up with the truly conservative moral forces of society, and together they will make war impossible.

There are a good many men engaged in commercial life who still think that war stimulates business. Well, so a fever stimulates the pulse, but it is not the stimulation of health. When the great commercial interests of the world, which are consolidating more and more, come to join themselves with the moral sentiment of the community, and with the reasonable arguments of the moral philosopher and of the economist, war will cease by inanition. It will have nothing to feed upon. Passion will be checked; it will cease to think of expressing itself in regiments of infantry and cavalry, in warships and bloody fights, and wars will become fading memories.

A third step to take — not in sequence merely, but because it is intimately related to the preceding — is the creation of an international police that will dispense with standing armies and navies, and leave the care of our civic life and the protection of the lives and property of men in each nation in the hands of the civil force. Ten years ago it would have been declared the maddest of mad dreams, and yet to-day it is one of the rational conclusions of many thoughtful minds, that an international police is practicable, and that it will become not in any sense an instrument of danger, but, on the contrary, an instrument working for peace.

The working out of the details of such a plan must be left to the competent and the experienced; but the more one reflects upon it the more clearly one sees that where there are danger points there must be established an adequate international police — whether inland or marine — to protect civilization.

I believe that such an international police is the one thing that will remedy and prevent the atrocities and barbarities of peoples that are not amenable to right sentiment. Just as the drunken brute on the street is not amenable to the persuasive words of the kind-hearted philanthropist, but the policemen, strong and kind and just, must take him with an effectual grip and put him where he can do no mischief; so the brutal nation or tribe must be laid hold of by the strong hand of a force representing the nations pledged to justice and reduced to a state at least of harmlessness. If there were an international police to lay a strong hand upon the unspeakable Turk, the Armenian atrocities would be impossible.

The day has passed when men will say, as though it were the final

word of wisdom, "Oh, you cannot touch such a matter, because it invades the rights of nationality!" Rights are grounded in moral obligation, and no nation has a right to be a menace and a mischief to its neighbors. Civilization is rapidly growing wise to the point where it will say with effective voice to the nation that becomes a source of corruption or of peril to adjacent nations that it must behave itself or come under the hands of the police. It is directly in the line of the movement which is represented by the creation of this Court of Arbitration that we are to have a better ordered civilization than we have ever had; and that the consciousness of all civilization coming to one glowing point shall express itself in principles and methods of international action that will be effective in every land and among every people.

I think the time is full of hope, though I have heard some lugubrious cries. I have heard men say, "Oh, in 1899 we had the Conference on Arbitration at The Hague, and yet since then we have had war between the United States and the Philippines, and war between Great Britain and the Boers, and trouble in China!" But these are mere ripples on the great stream that moves steadily onward. We are farther ahead to-day on the way to rational and abiding peace than we were two years ago. The world moves slowly, but it moves steadily, and it is moving in the right direction. The very struggles that have disturbed the last two years have made people think more seriously upon this subject, and the horrors in China during the last summer have not been without their compensations. When we read the true significance of history we shall understand that through it all we were making progress. "Through the shadow of the globe we sweep into the younger day."

The great forces, after all, that rule the world, and are ruling it more and more every year, are the forces of morals — the forces of righteousness and reason. Instead of being disappointed, we should be full of hope. I marvel as I look back to the first meeting of this Conference. I remember the words that were spoken when we were lamenting the failure of our Senate to confirm the treaty between this country and Great Britain. But, my friends, we have taken a great stride since that day, and the whole horizon is radiant and the future is bright with promise.

I cherish no foolish and fatuous dream that the millennium is coming to-morrow; I am glad it is not, for we are not fit for it, and should not know what to do with it. But, as fast as we are fit, it will come; and it is coming because we are growing rational, because we are growing moral. Because "God 's in his heaven, all 's right with the world."

ADDRESS OF REV. CHARLES F. DOLE.

I like Dr. Moxom's optimism,— I hope I am an optimist too,— but I think that we ought to know and remember that we have a very serious and long job before us. It is a good architect's plan, but there is a deal of work to be done before we have compassed it. We mean to carry it through, and it is just as important for us to see how great the task is as to understand any other aspect of it.

Dr. Hale set us an example this morning of bringing a statement of what he thought ought to be done, and I have followed his example in bringing a little statement, which I will read as a possible contribution toward the utterances of the Conference.

"We gladly recognize that the history of the past century has been distinguished by the successful application of the principle of peaceful arbitration to a remarkably large number of cases of international differences.

"These efforts have at last culminated in the establishment by the leading nations of the world of a Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. The existence of this Court, we believe, is a summons to the world to make general use of the only method of adjusting international grievances that expresses humane ideals, leaves no hate behind it, and promises, as substantially as any practical means can, to satisfy justice and honor.

"We believe that the suspicion, the arrogance and pride of race, the greed of gain, and the spirit of militarism, which alone prevent modern governments from referring all their differences to such fair arbitrament as is provided by this high Court, are unworthy of enlightened and civilized, much more of religious, men.

"We therefore specially commend to teachers, educators and journalists, and to all ministers of religion, the patriotic duty of changing public opinion, so as no longer to excuse and justify war, but rather to make it impossible.

"We hold that the time has come when those who teach and lead ought distinctly to exercise their influence against any increase of military and naval armaments. We call upon those who believe in the best methods frankly to advocate them, and to urge their adoption."

Dr. Hale said that we wanted the help of the practical men of affairs, and we certainly do; but it seems to me that we want the help of the men whom we may call idealists. I do not like this division into men of affairs and idealists, for the best men of affairs are also idealists; but so far as we consider men as idealists, we need to convert the idealists to our way of thinking. They are not converted now. There are two attitudes which men are all the time taking towards various ethical subjects presented to them. It makes all the difference in the world whether they take the active or passive attitude, whether the idealist takes the negative or the positive attitude toward just such questions as we have here presented.

Take this matter of belief in the feasibility of the methods of the tribunal at The Hague. You have all heard men who had an idealist vein in them speak with the utmost distrust of it. What has been interestingly said to us to-night by Mr. Logan of the need of giving adequate power to this tribunal at once probably raised in the minds of many people here all manner of possible doubts and difficulties. Can we trust the police force of the nations — of the

international tribunal? Are we not suspicious that the more powerful nations will somehow use it for the advancement of their own interests over smaller and weaker nations? At once, as soon as we begin to touch any such method, the attitude is a very easy and natural one of doubt and distrust.

Now it makes a vast difference to the success of your method whether you can induce these men to take the attitude of willingness toward it. Are they hospitably inclined? Will they put aside the arrogance and conceit which subtly induces them to keep to any opinion which they have once expressed?

Take the question of militarism. See how remarkably in all the history of Christianity every great religious body has always taken the side of justification and excuse for every particular war in which their own country was engaged. Is n't that a marvelous fact? Now, we are all of us apt to take that same attitude to-day. I speak in no way to blame; we are all of the same human nature, — good for something if the good Spirit possesses us; good for very little if the good Spirit is out of us. It is of no use to blame any one: I speak of a tendency which we all feel; that is, to excuse and justify, and find plausible, philosophic reason to excuse and account for what our people are doing, — and there are plenty of excuses for every war that ever has been.

And yet, what is the duty of the idealist, or of any man on his idealist side, with respect to this general question of militarism? What is he for, so far as he is idealist? He is here — is he not? — to further his ideals, not to find excuses for violating them. It is with us all, I take it, as it is with the parent or the teacher with respect to the training of his boy. Grant that it is of no use for a parent to lie awake nights because his boy occasionally gets into a fight, — especially if his boy behaves well in the fight; nevertheless, we are not here as parents and teachers in order to foster the spirit of fight or to find philosophical justification for it. We are not here to tell the boys that it is all a part of evolution, and that they had better go on fighting; but we are here to guide them from being heroes of the fight to being heroes of peace; to use their courage and their heroism and their animalism, — if you please, — and to translate it so that these things may serve the purpose of the spirit. That is what we are here for.

It is the same way with us, so far as we are idealists, in respect to these very important subjects that we are considering to-day. I tell you it is an immensely difficult thing which we have undertaken. The old spirit runs so strong — the spirit of war, the spirit of suspicion, weighted with the ignorance and the prejudices that are in men's minds — that it is an enormously difficult thing just to convert the clergymen to be really advocates of the principles of arbitration, which we are interested in seeing carried out.

Just think what would have been perfectly possible three years ago if the President and others in Congress interested in maintaining the peace — who believed, many of them, that we could get all

that we needed without fighting — had felt behind them the certain and sure support of all the ministers in the country! There would not have been any war. There would not have been any Boer war in England, following our war, if we had not set the example. If in England all the bishops and the ministers of the Established Church, and all the ministers and teachers in every other form of religion, had been really committed to the spirit for which churches and synagogues are supposed to stand, — if this power had been behind to resist all jingo efforts to drag the nation into war, there could not have been any war.

It seems to me that there is a perfectly simple duty before us to-day, and that is, to try to make public opinion against the increase of army and navy expenditures, against the armaments which we are constantly advised to increase. We are situated just as men who have bought for their house one of those fine fire extinguishers. It is an excellent fire extinguisher, it is almost invaluable — if you will use it. But at the same time we are piling up in the very room where we keep our fire extinguisher a lot of shavings and boxes of matches, and all sorts of incendiary material. Now, I say that we ought to take out of our room these shavings and boxes of matches, — all at least that prevent us from getting at the fire extinguisher when we want it, — and make up our minds that we will use this fire extinguisher when necessary, and that we will not let the matches get at the shavings. Do we not know perfectly well that every increase of army and navy is just adding so much incendiary material, so much increased menace and danger, not only to our nation, but to every other nation?

I tell you it is a tremendous test of our faith to trust this doctrine that we say we believe. It is really a statement that we believe in a divine universe; that we believe that the ideal things will hold if we trust them. And this is an immense thing to come to. But I believe it is absolutely required of us; that is, to strengthen our creed on these realities which we are supposed to believe.

You have seen some one at work with a jack plane, where the edge had become dull and there were not any shavings being made. He had to adjust that steel edge so that it would make shavings. So we people have been in the past generation or two talking about the beautiful ideals; we have got to adjust the cutting edge so that our ideals will take hold and do the work. This, it seems to me, is the translation of the tremendous and piteous call that comes to us from China and the Philippine Islands and the Boer land, by that terrible, solemn law of atonement whereby all sorrow somehow is at last translated into a new sense of need of God, a new sense of the need of the men of peace and goodwill everywhere in the world.

It is a terrible thing if we merely hear this call, and say that things are coming out all very well, but take no heed to the things that the call bids us do; to see to it that these horrible things in the world do not happen again; to see to it, at least, that this nation of ours never is caught in another war; that, whatever happens, we will

really use this splendid appliance which the Hague Conference has given us.

Do we not believe in our ideals? Are they not beautiful? Are they not divine? Then let us trust that they are divine, and see that we make them work.

"For right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win,
To doubt would be disloyalty;
To falter would be sin."

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR NATHANIEL SCHMIDT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

A few months ago I had the privilege of visiting The Hague. While there I naturally went to the little chateau where the Conference was held, the "House in the Wood," as it is called. The good woman who interpreted to me the masses of human flesh protruding from the walls of the Oranien-zaal, when she learned that her native Dutch was more agreeable to me than such German or French as she could muster, at once felt quite at home and took me into her confidence. In a burst of confidence she revealed what her feelings were concerning the Conference at The Hague. She said: "These commissioners were here for a week; we fed them, we made their beds, we served them, we cared for them; but never a fee did we get, nor any compensation for all our toil, nor even a word of thanks. But," she added,— and her face was lit up with that beauty which only comes from enthusiasm,— "what would not a man or a woman do for the peace of the world?" [Applause.] Then she added eagerly, "And, sir, what do you think they will do next?" That is the question of this evening.

I had seen reports by the men of supreme intelligence, of high and noble position, who had deliberated upon the weightiest questions that concern humanity, in the most memorable assembly that ever gathered upon our planet. But this was a voice *ex profundis*. It came from the depths of human life; it came from the masses of men and women who have to do the drudgery of the world, whose flesh and blood are taken from them to be cannon's food, and whose backs are bent by the tremendous and ever-increasing military burdens of the nations.

There had been fine utterances heard in that hall, coming from the world's true aristocracy. This homely remark summoned up before me the rank and file, — the masses of men,— and I thought, they, too, some day must be heard.

And what shall their voice be? Shall it be the noble utterance of this woman, "What would not a man do, who has to work from early morn till late at night, and has little leisure for the enjoyments of life — what would he not do for the world's peace?" Shall it be an eager question as to what the next steps will be?

The first question suggests to me the only effective, the only permanently successful, road to success; that is the way of the Cross. What sacrifices must be gladly, ungrudgingly made by thousands upon thousands of men in all walks of life, if we would secure the good we seek! What sacrifices must we ourselves be constantly making! Not what sweet communion may we have with kindred spirits at Lake Mohonk; but what hardships must we endure in the midst of the struggle of life!

We must be willing to have our good called evil, and have courage to call that shame which our fellows glory in; we must bear to be designated as traitors while the love of country and of humanity burns in our hearts; we must endure misrepresentation, and do so quietly and patiently — yea, even gladly — for the world's peace. There is no other way than this. We must speak our convictions in love, but forcibly, upon this question of war and peace — plainly, so that men may not misunderstand us, and without regard to the consequences. There is a moral strenuousness that is demanded of us which is much greater than the strenuousness of battle.

What are the next steps? First of all, the Parliament of Man is here as a fact of history. The Conference at The Hague was a Parliament of Mankind for the first time; not merely the large nations, but the smaller nations as well, were represented there. We must seek to perfect this Parliament of Man. There are a thousand questions arising here as to the best form in which the will of the human race may express itself in this Parliament of Man.

A few years ago one of the great political parties declared that the question then uppermost in men's minds — the question of the nation's money — should be settled by international agreement. That was the mind of a large part of our nation; the majority thought it an international question to be dealt with by a Parliament of Man.

And the question of the trusts is daily becoming one of international concern. When a trust is persecuted in one city it flees to another. When it is forced to give up a little of what it has made in one of the other states, it runs over to New Jersey. [Laughter.] When it finds that New Jersey — as some day it will — is no longer satisfied with the pay it gets, it will have to run across the ocean.

The question of freedom of trade is an international question. It would be a great thing indeed for mankind if we could have this bothersome tariff question brought before the International Court.

I am convinced that pressure should be brought to bear upon all national legislatures, so as to create among them a feeling in favor of arbitration. When last year I was at Stockholm I was told that one-third of the members of the Riksdag are members also of a peace society. Between all such little bodies there should be constant intercommunication.

I believe in another reform which I think is possible. The age of consent to be enlisted should be raised. Why should not men who know what war is, who know the interests that are at stake, who

have perhaps formed a character which cannot so easily be influenced and destroyed by temptations, — why should not they fight, if fighting is necessary? Shame on us that we send striplings, mere boys whose heads have been turned by the talk of glory, to be debauched in camps and on battlefields!

There should be constant and strenuous opposition to the increase of armies and navies. Let us not be deceived by the idea that the larger our armies and navies grow, the nearer we are to the millennium. That is not the case at all, except in point of time, perhaps. What is true is that the more we increase armaments, the larger grows the number of people who have a personal interest in war. As it is, we have millions of men who are in the profession of war, who have learned it as their trade, who have no other chance of promotion than war. They have millions of dependents who naturally desire that they may be promoted; and millions of money are invested in the armaments of war.

The first thing I ever published over my name, nearly twenty years ago, was an article on "Disarmament," and when I looked it over the other day, I found that, with all my changes in other respects, on this point I still maintain to-day my childhood's faith. I laid down the principle, that just as we look upon fist fights and lynchings as dishonorable to-day, so we should look upon war as dishonorable; just as we are safer to-day without fortifications and walls around our cities than the people who had them in former times, so we should be very much safer if we had no armies at all to tempt us in one direction or another.

One of the next steps certainly should be a change in the character of our text-books. It will be difficult work, but it will have to be done. We must change our text-books in history and oratory, and take out of them the laudation of what is cruel and selfish, and put into them praise of that which helps mankind. Let there be some due recognition of the legitimate business of life. Let us not teach a truncated history, from which the most glorious things, the loftiest thoughts, the purest sentiments, the noblest lives have been cut off.

The next step is, always, the kindly, firm and bold expression of our conviction that war to-day, whatever its necessity in the past, is a crime against humanity; that the one who precipitates a nation into war should be held up to execration; and that the one who leads mankind into the paths of peace is the noblest of heroes.

ADDRESS OF MR. EVERETT P. WHEELER OF NEW YORK.

I am asked to speak to-night about "The Conference at The Hague — What Next?" Before I take up the next step, I want to draw your attention to the present position.

What did the Conference at The Hague accomplish? Instead of using words of my own, let me read to you a brief statement by Mr.

F. De Martens, who was one of the delegates from Russia to that Conference. De Martens says this: *

"The Permanent Court of Arbitration was organized in the following manner:

'Every signatory power shall designate, within the three months following the ratification by them of the present act, not more than four persons of recognized competency in questions of international law, highly respected on the ground of morals, and disposed to accept the functions of arbitrators.

'The persons thus designated shall be entered as members of the Court upon a list to be sent to all the signatory powers through the agency of the bureau.

'Every change of the list of arbitrators shall, through the agency of the bureau, be brought to the notice of the signatory powers.

'The same person may be designated by different powers.

'The members of the Permanent Court of Arbitration are elected for a period of six years. They may be reëlected.'

"Besides this Court, an International Bureau is to be established at The Hague. This Bureau serves as a recording-office for the Court, and is the intermediary for all communications relative to all meetings of the Court.

"Lastly, there shall be constituted at The Hague a Permanent Administrative Council, composed of the diplomatic representatives of the signatory powers accredited to The Hague, and of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, who shall hold the office of president. This Administrative Council shall have charge of the establishment and organization of the International Bureau, which shall remain under its direction and control."

Before leaving this subject, it is essential to say a few words about a proposition made by Baron d'Estournelles, delegate from France, a proposition which took shape in the twenty-seventh article of the treaty of The Hague, which says that "The signatory powers consider it their duty, in case of serious conflict arising between two or more among them, to recall to these that the Permanent Court is open to them. The fact of thus recalling to the powers in litigation the provisions of the present treaty and the counsel given — to appeal to the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the highest interests of peace — shall be considered in no other light than as an act of friendly offices."

The judges of this Court have been named by most of the powers; so that the Court, so far as its membership is concerned, is constituted. The International Bureau, which is to the Court what the clerk's office and its staff are to an ordinary court, is in process of establishment. The Administrative Council at The Hague has met and organized, and is there, ready to be called together at any time by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands.

So there has been established, though not perfected, a Supreme

* Mr. Wheeler read from an article in the *North American Review* for November, 1899, by F. De Martens, delegate from Russia to the Conference at The Hague, entitled "Results of The Hague Conference." This article seems to be an extract from a work by the same author on "International Arbitration."

Court of the World, as Mr. Logan has happily called it. Now, let me remind you that at the first session of the Supreme Court of the United States there was no business before it. It organized; it had its clerk and its marshal; but at the first session there were no litigations in readiness for hearing, and consequently none were heard. No cause has as yet been submitted to the judgment of this International Court established by this great treaty. The next step is to bring something before it.

I had the honor not long ago to advise some clients of mine, who had claims that might be subjects of discussion between two of the signatory powers, to take steps to bring those claims to the attention of this tribunal. I am convinced that when the provisions of the great treaty come to be studied, when it is understood how complete a system is provided by it, so as to leave nothing for any nation to do except to present the claim and begin the procedure, — when that comes to be understood, and once a beginning has been had, the Court will not lack for business.

Then is there any reason to doubt that when this Court comes to sit, with judges of the eminence of those who have already been appointed, it will make decisions that will command as much respect from all countries as the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States now command and have commanded since its inception?

Then, if that result is arrived at, — and need we have any misgivings that it will be arrived at? — will not the decisions of that Court constitute a body of international law more respected even than the decisions of the British Privy Council, or of the Supreme Court of the United States, or of any of the great tribunals on the continent of Europe? Made up, as it will be, of distinguished jurists of different nations, attended and aided by counsel of international repute, can we doubt that the effect of its decisions will be to greatly develop the science of international law, and to cause to be respected far more than they now are those principles in their application to individual and national right?

The objection has been made that the Court has no power to compel obedience to its decisions. This objection has no real validity. I appeal to my brethren of the bar who are present here: Is it not a fact that in nine cases out of ten, at least, the decisions of a court are obeyed without any reference to the strong arm of the law which can enforce those decisions? You may say that people know that the court can enforce its decisions. That, no doubt, is true; I am willing to concede to that consideration all the force to which it is legitimately entitled. Yet I do assert that there is in the breast of man a respect for law, a respect for justice, to which we may confidently appeal. A man is not willing to be bound by the decisions of a tribunal in which he has no confidence. I have seen the time when there were courts in the State of New York whose decisions did not command confidence, and whose judgments were evaded, if they possibly could be, by all those unfortunate enough to come as litigants before them. That time, thank God, has long since passed

away, and we have now an era when we may say with justice that we find a great body of citizens who do respect and obey the decisions of the courts without a moment's consideration as to whether the decisions can be enforced by the sheriff, or his *posse comitatus*, or that stronger *posse* which we saw enforce the mandates of the Supreme Court of the United States in that unfortunate riot at Chicago.

So I think the next step is to refer cases to this Court which is established, and to build up such authority for the decisions of that Court that the litigant must be a nation thoroughly disregardful of the good opinion of its fellows which will not cheerfully submit to the decision. And when the nations all feel that such a Court as that at The Hague must be respected and obeyed, it will not be necessary to have or to use any international police force.

Adjourned at 10 P. M.

Third Session.

Thursday Morning, May 30, 1901.

The Conference was called to order at 10 o'clock by the Chairman, who said:

We are met this morning upon a day of grave suggestiveness. All over the land the graves of those who were sacrificed during the Civil War will be decorated with flowers in tender remembrance of their patriotism. It occurs to us at once, on such a day as this, how needless it all was. Why should the flower of the land, our best citizens, the strong men of the country, have been taken away by hundreds and thousands in a contest between brothers? The questions involved between the North and the South were hardly fit subjects for arbitration. Yet, as we stand here and look back, no more forcible object lesson can come to us than the great desirability that there might have been a tribunal that could have settled those questions peaceably, amicably and decisively. After all, were the questions involved of any greater import, or of any greater national interest, or of any greater national feeling, than that which has just been passed upon peaceably by the Supreme Court of the United States?

Such a day as this, therefore, points an important lesson in our consideration of the subject before us, and I trust that it may suggest to our minds some thoughts that are pertinent to the questions that we have to discuss this morning.

The general topic was announced: "The Influence of Commerce on the Peace of the World." The subject was opened by Prof. John B. Clark of Columbia University, who was followed by Hon. W. J. Coombs of Brooklyn, Hon. John A. Taylor of New York, and Mr. Joshua L. Baily of Philadelphia.

ADDRESS OF PROF. JOHN B. CLARK.

I heard with an amount of pleasure which I very seldom experience the suggestion of Dr. Hale, that we endeavor to enlist in the cause that we have at heart the influence of commercial bodies — boards of trade, chambers of commerce, bankers' associations and the like. It was a worthy suggestion of him who, in practical ways as well as by idealistic inspiration, has always proved himself the "guide, philosopher and friend," not only of every member of this Conference, but of every friend of peace. We shall find these bodies able to accomplish much in the political as well as the

economic world. We shall also find them willing. They are the great power that is most willing to help us in the line in which we wish assistance.

There is a common impression that war makes business productive and creates profits for many people; and it was a common saying during the Civil War — at least in the North — that we were getting rich on the war. I well remember a crusade which Henry Ward Beecher made at that time, for the accomplishment, indeed, of many things, but incidentally with a view to overthrowing this fallacy. I am compelled to say that I think he tried to overthrow it with an opposite one. He said: "We are certainly not getting rich *on* the war, but we are getting rich *in spite* of it. So enormous is our productive power that we can spare this outlay and still save something." The actual fact was that we were growing poorer. Though a limited number of people were accumulating wealth, the country as a whole was being rapidly impoverished.

War does three things that makes a country look prosperous. It withdraws productive energy from its ordinary channels, and makes a scarcity of labor. It taxes the future for an indefinite time, gets the proceeds of the taxation and spends these at once in vast lump sums in a prodigal way. It enables a few classes of capitalists and employers to make a salvage from this profuse expenditure. In these ways war simulates prosperity; but the only people who get rich out of it are those who pick up the crumbs from a very wasteful table. The country gets poorer with great rapidity.

There are three economic classes that control politics in the United States, as elsewhere. They are the farmers, who represent both labor and capital, but not organized labor and capital; the labor unions, who represent consolidated labor; and the class which represents consolidated capital. All three working together for the same object would overbear every trace of opposition, and two of them working together would probably gain their end. What is available as a political force to be enlisted in the service of peace is one of these classes that we can thoroughly count on, and another that we can count on conditionally.

The farmers we cannot thoroughly depend on; they have diverse views upon this subject. In the main, their moral perceptions are good, and the appeal to farmers on the basis of pure morality has a high hope of success. But the farmers are not free from the fallacy that war makes profits, and they are affected by the fact that when war calls men from the farm to the field it quickens the demand for the food stuffs produced by those who are not thus called away. On the basis of purely economic arguments, I think in the long run we can count on the farmers; in the short run, I doubt whether we can confidently do it.

The laboring classes have declared themselves over and over again in favor of arbitration. They have done this officially through their organized bodies. Before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War there was a unanimous demand from the labor unions of France and

Germany for a prevention of the war; and before every war that has recently occurred, in which civilized nations have been engaged, something of that kind has taken place. When the Venezuelan trouble threatened to embroil us with England there were protests by the labor unions of the United States, Canada and Great Britain against any course that could precipitate such a war.

The reason for this attitude on the part of laborers is exceptional. It is not because they have a markedly clearer insight into the economic effects of war than have other classes. What they are keenly alive to is the fact that the labor movement is international; that it is an all-round movement embracing many countries. It aims to emancipate the labor of the world, and the participants do not want to be diverted from that purpose or thwarted by anything that will destroy the solidity of their force.

At the time when the Venezuela trouble was pending I visited some labor unions for the express purpose of ascertaining their attitude; and while I never failed to find a distinct protest against war, and to be told that the feeling was universal among the laboring classes, I did not find that the assertion was as hearty and as earnest as I had hoped to find it. This was because, just then, there were some diverting subjects before the minds of the organized workmen of this country. They had one or two things perhaps not more deeply at heart, but more immediately so, than the cause of peace, and they had not much thought to spare for this more general subject.

How is it with the commercial classes, upon whom at once the burdens of war precipitate themselves? Except in the case of a favored few, the effects of war show themselves in the shape of shrunken profits or closed avenues for enterprise. The direct costs of the war are so colossal that they cannot for a moment be disregarded, but they are the least of the wastes that war entails. The trouble that war occasions in the commercial world is expressed in the phrase, "The disruption of an economic organism." If I were to go into details, as I should in a class room, on the significance of this phrase, you would think that, however moist the weather might be outside, it was dry enough inside. [Laughter.] Some things, however, are obvious. If two men were living in an isolated way, each producing every commodity that he used, they might declare war on each other without entailing costs, except the direct ones that the fighting would occasion. If, however, the two men constituted a microscopic community, and if they had developed such a division of labor that one produced the food for both, while the other produced the clothing, then a violent feud would mean not only direct costs, but a paralysis of production. If the connection had become still more intimate, so that the men were not only each other's customers, but each other's partners, a break between them would be more disastrous still. A food producer who owned capital in the hands of the artisan and an artisan who owned capital in the hands of the food producer would require a sore provocation to induce them

to fight. This rudely represents something that is taking place in the business world. What is happening all over the world to day is the economic annexation of the nations to each other, so that the relations of partnership as well as of interchange are established between them. The formation of this union goes on with great activity. We not only send goods to every country, but we send capital and enterprise. Men go to foreign lands and become employers of capital and labor. This occurs freely between members of the circle of highly civilized countries, but less freely between the civilized nations and others; and between countries of such unlike degrees of advancement wars are brought on more easily. Within the circle of civilized countries the waste caused by war would be such that few statisticians would be bold enough to express it in figures; and it would come with immediate and crushing force on classes engaged in commerce between the countries affected and those that have made investments across the border. We can appeal to these classes with perfect confidence that in any threatening exigency they will do something positive, and that that will usually be enough to preclude the outbreak of war. If the unduly belligerent spirit and feeling of the American people were to assert themselves in some ebullition of wrath which, in so far as the majority of our people were concerned, the economic influences would have difficulty in stemming, the commercial classes could be counted on to use their power in behalf of conciliation and peace.

I want to say just a word about the marked distinction between the relations which highly-civilized countries, the great powers of the world, occupy to each other, and the relation which this circle of nations occupies to the inferior and less civilized portion of the world. I am as far as possible from feeling the slightest discouragement — I rather think I feel a sense of strong encouragement, as far as the ultimate success of our movement is concerned — by reason of the fact that a number of minor wars have been going on, and that since the creation of the Hague Tribunal the world has not lapsed instantly into a state of peace. These minor wars — what are they? They are the unhappy attendant incidents of the economic annexation of uncivilized portions of the world to the civilized portion; they are causing that great circle of nations within which war is soon to be prevented by economic causes to grow larger and larger. A zone that was outside of the influence of high civilization is included within it: the process involves a war, unfortunately. Do you think that in the end it makes for war? On the contrary, it continually extends the area within which forces that we did not originate, but forces that we can gladly and confidently appeal to, are in process of establishing perpetual peace.

I recall well the feeling that we used to have when the phrase that is so attractive — "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World" — was used in our conferences, in literature and in many ways. It had a poetical sound. We did not quite think of it as representing an "iridescent dream," but there was some iridescence

about it, even in our own minds. We thought of it as a thing to be hoped for and prayed for, but not confidently expected. To use the words of one of our speakers, we thought of those who were working for it as

"Rowing hard against the stream,"

and we took courage from the fact that in the operation they

"Saw distant gates of Eden gleam."

But it is more than the gates of Eden, since it is nothing distant and is not of the nature of a Paradise that we can reach only by passing through and beyond the tangible present world. It is as substantial as anything earthly, and is more like the rock of a mountain than like the mist that floats over it. What it is exactly like is rock in the process of making, and well advanced in the process. It is coming into existence through the action of cosmic force. Economic laws are resistlessly working to bring the world into a federation. To us it is even given to do something to make them work more efficiently; and at present we can best do this by making the appeal which Dr. Hale has suggested.

ADDRESS OF HON. W. J. COOMBS.

In an address made to the Conference held two years ago, I spoke of the influence of commerce in maintaining the peace of the world, and expressed the belief that the intelligent self-interest of the commercial world might be relied upon to forward the scheme of international arbitration. I also spoke of my experience as a merchant in relation to the honesty of merchants in their dealings with one another, and expressed the belief founded upon that experience, covering a period of over forty years' trading with merchants of nearly every country in the world, that honesty was the rule and dishonesty the exception.

I have been asked to speak to-day upon the same subject; namely, the influence of commerce in promoting peace, taking into account the changed conditions that have arisen within the last two years. I regret to be obliged to say that I do not regard the situation in as favorable a light as I did at that time; in fact, the influences that heretofore have made for peace are to-day the ones that confront us as the most perilous. The danger of commercial rivalry leading to misunderstandings and finally to war waged for the extension or protection of the commerce of the various nations is most serious. This has been brought about by the sudden and enormous expansion of the manufacturing industries of this country, and their concentration into the hands of a few large and aggressive corporations.

I need not tell you that this sudden development of commercial power of the United States has excited the fears of the other great producing nations of the world. They do not look with indifference at the serious inroads that we are making into their foreign trade, as well as the invasion of their home markets, and will naturally try

by legislation and restriction laws to protect their own industries. France, England, Germany and Belgium have become alarmed at the prospect of closed factories and unemployed labor, and have already begun retaliatory war. The important question is, Will the United States treat these efforts at self-protection in a magnanimous spirit, or will it press its advantages aggressively, and thus widen the breach? This is the point of danger.

Will we remember that we have not put ourselves in a position to demand any favors of these foreign powers or to question their right of self-protection? Our tariff policy has been distinctly a selfish one. Whatever influence that policy may have had in building up the manufactures of the United States and giving us our present preëminence we have got to pay for in the future by the lack of sympathy of other nations. So if Germany gets angry and says, "We will have none of your pork or your beef," and England says, "We shall inspect your cattle much more severely than we have been doing," and other nations say, — as they undoubtedly will be obliged to do, — "We will put a tariff on American productions," we shall have no right to complain; and yet we shall complain.

Now, things would be very different if the manufacturing interests were in the same hands that they were in a few years ago — detached manufacturers throughout the country; but we have now a concentration of business in united manufactures. I do not use the word "trusts" because it is a disagreeable word, and you might think that I am a pessimist. I am only taking things as they are. We have created an *imperium in imperio.* Nearly every industry in this country is concentrated in a very few hands, and those hands are looking for financial results. The decision of those questions which relate to peace, as far as the claims of the manufacturers are concerned, are not in the hands of church-going people, — the manufacturers in small villages, small cities, thousands and thousands of people who could be touched by public sentiment and by religious sentiment, — but it is in the hands of corporations who have to make their dividends, and in order to do so must find foreign markets for their over-production.

The claim is already made that we must extend our borders in order that we may extend our commerce; that, having the facilities and the ability to manufacture ten times the amount of goods that we can consume, we must open markets in the world for the consumption of those goods. That may mean war, the basest kind of war, — war to make money. It appeals to a very low instinct, and the people must be on their guard against it.

The danger point is here in ourselves. It lies in our over-prosperity. It is found not only in our industrial development, but also in the ease with which we have been able to carry on a war extending half way around the globe.

We have gone through years of war and our treasury is overflowing. The people have not felt the burdens of it. Have you felt it, except when you had to pay for the stamp to put on your

check? And Congress has, I think very unwisely, removed that reminder of contribution to the government. So our people are in an inflamed condition of pride and self-confidence. We must watch ourselves that this spirit may not override reasonableness. I am afraid that we cannot depend upon the assistance of Congress, which of late has shown more readiness to yield to public clamor than to deliberate calmly and lead public sentiment in the right direction, and that for the reason that it is not really representative of the people.

So my message this morning is to guard yourselves, guard your own shores. Our people are very aggressive; they are in a condition to be aggressive. The danger point is with ourselves; it is not with foreign nations. What we have to do is to look out that we don't stumble again into any more unpleasantnesses of the kind from which we have just emerged.

As to the final result of the establishment of the Court at The Hague, I have no doubt that it will be appealed to by the nations of the earth, first in small things and then in large. So great a step as has been taken in the direction of the right will never be retraced; it cannot be useless; the world has accomplished something by establishing a tribunal to which all mankind and all nations can appeal.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN A. TAYLOR.

We are here in the interests of peace; the thing which we want to do is to substitute for the barbarous machinery of war the quiet domain of human reason. We have come together for a number of seasons, — sometimes in despair and sometimes in hope, — and we have undertaken to formulate the policy which we think ought to be pursued in regard to war.

I think that one of the fundamental errors of all such conferences as this is that we lose sight of the fact that the people of this country at heart believe in every good thing that we can suggest to them. We talk of the days of martyrdom; we recount with enthusiasm the story of the man who in the olden days marched to death for his principles, and perhaps we idly think that there are no such men living now. I should be very sorry if I did not believe that I could confidently select a score of men among my own acquaintances who, if they were sure that the giving of themselves absolutely to death would banish from this world the misery and the degradation and the sin which is in it, would march as gladly to the stake as did the heroes of years ago. [Applause.] We are mistaken, I think, in not putting a little more faith in the people themselves.

Now every one is interested in commerce, and we are asked to-day to consider what commerce has to do with the ways of peace, the acquirement of peace.

Commerce is the most conservative feature of our civilization. The fact that in this country, more than in any other country, each

individual citizen has the opportunity, and embraces the opportunity, of acquiring a bit of land which he calls his own, of acquiring a little bank account, makes this country the most conservative of all countries on the face of the globe, because each citizen has a stake in the common interest of the community. So there is not a ship which leaves an American port and crosses the ocean that has not interested, either directly or indirectly, in its safe, unvexed arrival at a foreign port hundreds or thousands of our common citizenship.

When you shall make the people at large understand that it is their interest, their particular interest — that it is a plague which is to come into their own household if war shall devastate the land, and when you shall give them a reasonable opportunity for determining that question, you will find that the people will sanction heartily and work enthusiastically for the accomplishment of the ends which we have in view.

I want to emphasize this consideration, — that no movement which is to strike at the foundation stones of our government, and which is to supplant an established usage with something better, can expect to find ultimate accomplishment unless it is bottomed upon the individual enthusiasm of the people themselves. The reason that the suggestions of this Conference from year to year have found recognition at the hands of the representatives of the people has been because they were conscious that the aims which we are working for are the aims of common humanity. They probably are as conscious as we are that to take from the nations of the world the temptation to meet one another on the battlefield is to remove one of the great sources of evil.

Now, I do not believe that war is the greatest evil that can come to a country. I believe that the evils resulting from intemperance are far greater in the aggregate than those resulting from war. [Applause.] But I do mean to say that the moment the proposition is put before a sensible, kind-hearted person to supplant this terrible, barbaric method of settling disputes by other and wiser and more intelligent ones, that proposition meets with the readiest acceptance.

How is it to come about? It is to come about largely, of course, by the initiative of such meetings as these; but it is to find adoption at last in the undiscovered and undisclosed ways by which the human mind and the human heart and the civilized world are always affected. Not in the avalanche that pours down over a precipice, not in the tempests of the sea, not in the crashing thunders of the skies, are those great forces which make the world beautiful and plentiful and rich and good to look upon; but down underneath the ground, and up in the remote recesses of the mountain forest are running those little contributions which swell at last to the great effect, and achieve the things which we most desire.

The growth of the world, and the growth of our country, and the growth of all good things is to come from that silent change of sentiment — not in your heart, not in my heart, but in all the hearts of

all the world — which shall bring the people to see that they are more than brutes, and that they are nearest God when they decide their differences in the high domain of human intellect. [Applause.]

ADDRESS BY MR. JOSHUA L. BAILY.

The special topic for this morning's consideration, it seems to me, has already been so well covered that there is scarcely space for me to occupy, and I am too profoundly interested in the cause of temperance to ask any of you to partake of another draught when I perceive that you are already full. [Laughter.]

I have been requested to speak because I belong to the non-professional class, which is represented here by a very few,— a class which stands between the producer and the consumer, and is obliged to be familiar with the conditions and the necessities, and to study the interests, of each. The merchant must keep his eyes and his ears open to whatever is happening in any part of the world. The thermometer is scarcely more sensitive to the changes of the atmosphere than is the business of the merchant to daily occurrences, and he must be guided accordingly.

It is sometimes said that a state of war promotes commercial activity. It does in a sense. It promotes great activity in those commodities which are used in war. It creates a great demand for the implements of warfare. It creates a great demand for food and for clothing. There is consequently an enhancement in prices, which comes with peculiar hardship upon the poor and upon people in the middle classes of society, who number by far the largest proportion of the population. But immediately the war is over there is a change of circumstances; there is a reaction, and presently a very widespread and intense business depression.

Those of you who are old enough to remember the circumstances of our Civil War will recollect that that commercial depression continued for several years. It took the country a long time to recuperate, and then we found ourselves loaded with a debt amounting to billions of dollars, a debt which is not yet fully paid. That is not all. You have had occasion to notice the appropriation by Congress of over $140,000,000 annually to take care of the diseased and the maimed, those who became so by the casualties of the war — an expenditure which is increasing rather than diminishing as the years go by. Even that is not all. We have in the Soldiers' Homes in the United States twenty-seven thousand men disabled by war, and now supported at the expense of the government; and in the State Homes there is nearly an equal number, supported in part by the national government and in part by the individual states. So long as war continues to be one of our national occupations, large appropriations for pensions for the maimed and the diseased are likely to continue. As you all know, applications for pensions are already coming in, and in great numbers, on behalf of the sufferers by the

late war between the United States and Spain. So that there is entailed upon us, and not upon us only, but upon generations yet unborn, this heavy incubus. It is a load which has to be borne by all classes,— by the professional classes, by merchants, by the manufacturers, by farmers, by artisans, by mechanics, and by every man who by daily labor earns his daily bread.

Those of you who have had the opportunity of visiting the countries of Europe know what the burden is on nations where large standing armies are maintained. You have seen the women working in the fields, working even as scavengers in the streets, women mixing the mortar and carrying the hod; and worse than that, in many places women and dogs harnessed side by side in carts dragging merchandise through the streets. Such are the degraded conditions of women who have to toil often from early morn to late at night to support their families, in those countries where millions of men withdrawn from the avocations of industry are maintained in idleness under arms. These are not the conditions which we desire for our own beloved country, but the nearer will we approach them as we greatly increase the army and navy and give place to the spirit of militarism already so widely and injuriously prevalent. There is, however, much ground for hope, it seems to me, now that the commercial and financial interests of the nations have become so closely interwoven and interdependent, that they must make for peace among them. Among other reasons for hopefulness is this one, that loans in large amounts are being made in the United States to some of the nations of Europe. As stockholders in any railway or manufacturing company we are interested in the protection and the welfare of the company, and nothing is likely to make us feel a nearer, it may be a selfish, interest in the welfare and prosperity of a foreign nation than to be the holders of its bonds.

Men of affairs cannot exert the influence that the professional men can from the platform and from the pulpit, but they have opportunity for wide-reaching influence in the pursuit of their various avocations, through the great variety of people with whom they are brought in contact.

I listened with the most intense interest yesterday to that able address by Dr. Hale, in which he spoke of the propriety of business men bringing this matter of international arbitration before their boards of trade and their commercial associations. I thoroughly concur in the views which he so eloquently and forcibly expressed. But I think that the men of affairs have an influence other than that, as employers in their counting rooms, factories and elsewhere. Every employer of labor should be interested in the welfare of those in his employ, and to the extent that he discharges this reasonable duty he can influence their opinions and conduct for their own and for the public good. [Applause.] He should by the force of his example, as well as by his teaching, imbue their minds with the ideas which have come to him from his years of practical experience. He should teach his young men that the road to success and to eminence is

not to be hewn out by the sword; and he should teach them also that the flag, the glorious Stars and Stripes in which we take so much pride, does not belong exclusively to the army and navy. The flag is not the emblem of war and destruction; let us teach our young men that it is the emblem of peace and protection. [Applause.] Do not we all feel that, when in a foreign city we see the Stars and Stripes floating above the door of our own consul or minister?

Men of affairs know that any increase in the army and navy is not demanded in the best interests of the country, and many are prepared for gradual disarmament. Some think that disarmament is a Utopian idea and that the consideration of it is premature. I cannot join in that view. Disarmament must begin sometime and somewhere, if ever we are to realize the "Peace on Earth" so long ago foretold; and what country is better circumstanced than our own to furnish the example, by taking the initial step? I am not one of those who distrust the intent of the Czar of Russia. I remember very well that at his coronation in his public address he said that he intended "to devote himself to the *peaceful* development and glory of Russia." I was very much impressed at the time with this word "peaceful." Had he said that he was going to devote himself "to the development of the glory of Russia," I should not have been impressed, but the expression "the *peaceful* development" has dwelt with me ever since. So I was entirely prepared to accept the call of the Czar for the assembly at The Hague as an evidence of his sincerity. I believe in it yet.

I found an example of practical disarmament last winter at Nassau, on one of the Bahama Islands. There are four great fortifications on that island. One of them is a very large one. There are few larger fortifications anywhere than Fort Charlotte at Nassau. Yet every one of those forts is dismantled and every gun is spiked. There has been no other condition there for a quarter of a century. There is not an armed soldier on the island. They have a splendid police force, made up of black men from the island of Barbadoes; but they have no soldiers, and they don't feel the need of protection. One old woman put the whole thing in a nutshell when she said to me, "Do you ever hear of fighting men going where there is nobody to fight?"

We are debtors to steam and electricity. They have well nigh annihilated time and distance. The natural barriers between nations have been to a great extent removed by the bridging of rivers and the tunneling of mountains. The nations are no longer isolated as once they were. Indeed, national isolation is no longer possible. There are so many interests which they have in common that the interruption of peaceful relations between any two works injury to all; so that each has something at stake in promoting the common welfare. That ancient query, "Where is Abel, thy brother," formerly addressed to an individual, comes down through the ages no longer to the individual only, but to nations, and no nation can shirk its share of responsibility by the response, "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Seated here at this "House in the Woods," we have been hearty in our response to the message which has come to us from that other "House in the Woods" across the sea. We appear to be very much of one mind, but it won't do for us to take it for granted that this unanimity prevails everywhere.

I am reminded of an incident that occurred here during one of our conferences; I think it was five years ago. I was accompanied by one of my grandchildren, then a lad about six years old. We took a drive in the afternoon in one of Mr. Smiley's hospitable coaches up to Guyot's Hill. Many of you are familiar with the charms of that drive. You remember how you ascend from one level to another, mounting hill after hill, until at length you reach the summit, whence a grand panorama bursts suddenly upon you. Far and wide the valleys are spread below your feet; beyond are hills rising over hills, and still more distant are mountain ranges, a completely encircling landscape in extent and beauty such as one seldom sees. My little grandson at first, with mute astonishment, cast his eyes about him, and then, with a countenance beaming with surprised delight, he turned to me, and with half-suppressed voice, "Grandpa," he said, "grandpa, isn't this all the world?"

Are we not, under such circumstances as surround us here, likely to make the same mistake? *We* are *not* all the world. Would that it were even so; that this assembly of intelligence and culture were fairly representative of the prevailing sentiment. Far beyond these encircling valleys and the encompassing hills and mountain ranges are other lands and other peoples to whom the light with which we have been so favored has not yet reached. Ours be the duty of spreading far and wide among the nations this gospel of peace and human brotherhood. "With firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," let us in season and out of season press this cause to the front, in the confident belief that ultimately — we may not say immediately — but ultimately our gospel of goodwill will find a general acceptance, and the peaceful arbitration of national differences shall supplant the arbitrament of the sword.

The subject was then opened for discussion, under a time limit of five minutes.

Mr. Wm. H. Gibson: I took occasion the other day when in Albany to enter the library at the State Capitol, and while there I picked up a book by the English statistician Mulhall, in which he stated that the debt of our Civil War amounted to $3,750,000,000, and that the number of lives lost was 295,000. If we add to that debt the interest which we have paid, the amount which we have paid yearly for pensions, and the various State debts, it would be found to reach the sum of nearly $10,000,000,000. When we take into consideration the trade statistics of our exports for the past year, amounting to $1,400,000,000, we can probably arrive at some estimate of what a great war would now cost the country,

when our trade has so immensely developed since the time of the Civil War. If our present competition disturbs the countries of Europe, as it apparently does Germany, how much more would the loss of our trade disturb them, which last year amounted in imports to $850,000,000. Our trade last year with Germany alone amounted to $242,000,000 in exports, and we bought from Germany $107,000,000 worth of merchandise.

I agree with one of the speakers that it is an argument for peace whenever we have invested in a foreign loan. The intricacies of the trade of the world are such that I think there can be no great war among the nations. We shall have rivalries, but they will be settled by arbitration.

One thing seems to have escaped the attention of the speakers, and that is that no victorious nation has been permitted by the five big policemen of the world — Russia, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States — to enjoy the fruits of victory. Russia was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of her victory over Turkey; Japan was not permitted to enjoy the fruits of her victory over China; and we only just escaped in securing the enjoyment of the victories of our Spanish War.

Hon. Robert Treat Paine: I am glad to stand up a single moment and express my rejoicing in the privilege of this free Conference; and first of all to express the pleasure with which I listened again to Dr. Hale yesterday, when he pitched the keynote of this meeting and of some future meetings, — aiming to get the alliance of new forces, and to bring into helpful relations with our cause the economic forces of the world.

We have appealed to sentiment and to the sense of justice, and the pulpit has done some magnificent work in preaching the cause of righteousness; but not so much progrees as is desirable has been made. We have got to put a great deal more hard work into our cause before we succeed, for instance, in making our country ready to arbitrate the question of the boundary of Alaska. To me it would be a pleasure to have our country refer to the Court at The Hague the question of the boundary line of Alaska. I believe that our contention is right, but that is infinitely unimportant. It would be a pleasure to me to have the decision of that Alaska boundary so made by a judicial tribunal, like that of The Hague, that we and our children and our children's children might be able to say, "It was based upon the principles of justice." Whether we get Lynn harbor or not I don't care — I don't care much [laughter]; I would rather have it go where it ought to go than to get it by force of arms, or by any trickery of diplomacy.

Mr. Bailey said that our flag should be the emblem of peace and protection. "Well," I thought, "yes, but I should like to have it a symbol of justice among the nations, so that wherever it floats it may mean that the great nation of the United States shall ask for what is just and nothing more [applause]; and further, that I should

like to have it typify and denote the genuine goodwill of our country to all the nations of the world." This sense of justice is one of the forces that we have always appealed to.

Mr. Hale comes in here like a great prophet of the future, and says, "Let us invoke to help us the economic forces of the world." These forces are pretty powerful. They do not coöperate, they do not unite as a whole. In the different cities we have local boards of trade and clubs of merchants, but they have no general conference like this, and therefore we have to act for them; we must suggest to them the wisdom and the importance of a general understanding among them in their own interests. We need to have the whole country understand that when President Cleveland issued his Venezuelan message, and the wheels of industry were stopped in a thousand towns and cities, it was a powerful injury not merely to the commercial classes, but to the people who depend upon the employment which commercial prosperity brings and continues. Our politicians — some of them pretty dangerous men — must be given to understand that it is not for their benefit, for their political prosperity, that they should break up the peace and prosperity of the world, that they should endanger our relations with other countries. I think that the recoil from President Cleveland's Venezuelan message was very sharp, and that it has taught public men a lesson.

How can we get these commercial bodies to coöperate with us in the work we have in hand? How can we set in operation those agencies that will give this cause of international arbitration the benefit of the great intelligent mercantile classes, the commercial classes, the industrial classes of our country and of the whole world?

This to me is the supreme thing at which this particular Conference ought to aim. If we can keep pretty close to this subject and get the benefit of wise thoughts from many directions, we shall certainly make progress in strengthening our own forces, in strengthening the powers that work for peace.

Mr. Wm. H. Tolman: Mr. Baily in his remarks touched too lightly, from my point of view, on the responsibility of the employer to the employee. I propose to give you two examples which I think will be of great use in illustrating the forward movement in what employers are doing for their employees.

A while ago I was called into consultation with the Westinghouse Electric Company, who wanted to know what they could do to improve the condition of their employees. I made many suggestions, and they said, "They are very well; but our foreman and superintendents are too busy; they cannot take up any more work." I said, "I know that, but what you need is a 'social secretary' to initiate and carry out all sorts of movements for improved conditions along the lines of recreation and education, and so on." This was in January, and by the 1st of May they called a "social secretary," and since then three other firms have entered on a similar movement.

The other illustration is a new form of trust which I want to tell

you about. Some of you have heard of the Cadbury Cocoa Works near Birmingham, England, where there are more than two thousand employees. Mr. George Cadbury, with the consent of his sons and nephew, has recently set aside, in the form of a trust, property representing between eight and nine hundred thousand dollars, to be operated for the betterment of the social conditions of that industrial community.

There is a growing disposition on the part of employers to initiate these movements for the benefit of their employees, and all that will have a right influence upon commerce, and will tend to both industrial and international peace.

Mr. Chas. Richardson: So far as practical suggestions are concerned, it seemed to me yesterday that Dr. Hale's suggestions covered the ground so completely that there is hardly anything left to say. I should like, however, to suggest for the consideration of the Business Committee the question of how far that committee — or possibly a special committee — can go in the way of preparing suggestions and urging them upon the proper officials of this country and of England, and perhaps of other countries, as to making a new treaty to take the place of the one that was rejected by the United States Senate some years ago.

Mr. Franklin P. Shumway: Much has been said about bringing this matter of international arbitration before the various commercial associations of the country. In Boston alone there are forty trade associations, and this subject is worthy of their attention and should be brought before them. I am sure that they would be glad to hear many of the men who have spoken here on this question.

Then we should have a press agent; the newspapers are willing to print matter of this kind when it is given them in concrete form. We could have had floated fifty, seventy-five or a hundred editorials in the daily papers of this country, had some one six months ago selected men to write those editorials and sent them to the papers of the country to be printed during this Conference.

I would make a motion that the Business Committee consider the feasibility of appointing a committee to bring this matter before the commercial men of the country, and that they consider the advisability of hiring a press agent.

The Chairman: The motion made by Mr. Shumway of Boston has been seconded, that the question of the feasibility of appointing a committee to communicate with the commercial and trade associations of the country, and of the advisability of employing a press agent during the year, be referred to the Business Committee for consideration.

Mr. Ginn: I was very much interested in the remarks of the last speaker, in fact in all the discussion of the morning, and it occurs to me to emphasize the point of the means for accomplishing

these desired ends. Why cannot we secure not alone this press agent, but a competent editor? Cannot we raise the amount needed? Ten thousand dollars would hire a pretty good editor; and we should keep him employed for the rest of his life, if we so long for peace, in preparing these articles, in communicating with the newspapers, and then we should have him come here each year and give us reports. We cannot have continued action along this line unless we employ some one whose only business it is to do that work for us intelligently.

MR. A. K. SMILEY: I want to say a word in reference to what Mr. Ginn has said. I have been thinking for some time that it would be a good thing for us to have a regular secretary or clerk to help us to organize and develop our work. When Dr. Hale came here on Monday the first thing that burdened his heart was how to get the financiers, the manufacturers and the merchants together to talk this matter of arbitration over. We can do something in this direction ourselves personally here, but it would be much better if we could find some competent man to assist us to do the work.

MR. GINN: I have a great many irons in the fire, and I have two or three things that are weighing upon me so strongly that I hesitate to act, and yet I will bear my full share of responsibility towards carrying this matter to effectual results, if it is undertaken in a broad and generous way.

MR. JOHN B. GARRETT: Certainly nothing more practical has been suggested to us than that which has been the outcome of the last few minutes of discussion. Mr. Ginn is, I believe, the chairman of the Finance Committee, and the motion of Mr. Shumway is to refer an important question to the Business Committee. I want to suggest that the whole question be referred to the Business Committee and the Finance Committee jointly, and that they be requested to give whatever time is necessary to its consideration, and report to the Conference.

The motion of Mr. Shumway as amended by Mr. Garrett was duly seconded and unanimously adopted.

REV. F. B. ALLEN: I was very much interested in Mr. Smiley's suggestion that next year an effort should be made to secure the attendance here of merchants, bankers and financiers. May I suggest one other class? Why should we not have at this Conference some of our practical politicians? Are there not some Representatives and Senators who would immensely help us by being at these meetings? I think it would be a good thing to secure the attendance of some of these men.

MR. A. K. SMILEY: Every year we send a warm invitation to a large number of our Representatives and Senators to attend this Conference, but we do not succeed in getting them here.

The Conference then adjourned till 8 o'clock.

Fourth Session.

Thursday Evening, May 30, 1901.

THE Conference was called to order by the President, at 8 o'clock.

The Secretary, MR. C. R. WOODRUFF, made the following statement:

It will be recalled that both yesterday and to-day a number of matters were referred to the Business Committee for consideration. Two things of importance were referred this morning: one had reference to the question of securing a permanent secretary, and the other to that of employing a press agent.

The Business Committee in conjunction with the Finance Committee and Mr. Smiley considered both these questions, and came to the conclusion that it is inexpedient to give further attention to the matter of a permanent secretary, as Mr. Smiley very generously proposes to secure himself such clerical aid as he may find necessary in developing and widening the work of the Conference.

The Committee think, however, that it will be wise to carry out the suggestion of having a press agent, and that the Conference should try to raise $1,500 so as to cover this additional expense. We all feel that the influence of this Conference should be much more widely felt than it has been in the past. That wider influence can only come through the coöperation of the press, and that coöperation can be had through carefully organized effort and by the work of a press agent.

The subject selected for the evening was "Industrialism and Peace," and addresses were made by Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd of Boston, Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, S. T. D., of Philadelphia, and Dr. Josiah Strong of New York City.

ADDRESS OF MR. HENRY DEMAREST LLOYD.

If I had expected to be asked to speak here I should have prepared some precise data on the questions with which this Conference is concerned. I came here to listen to things that were new to me, and I have listened with amazement and admiration. I do not know where in the literature of achievement one can find a more remarkable instance of the progressive realization of the ideal than in the work which has been done here and in coöperation with you elsewhere in the direction of international arbitration.

This wonderful experience which has permitted you to unite in planting the seed which has grown into the forest which has been hewn into the temple of arbitration which now stands at The Hague

is only another illustration of the fact, which is familiar to all reformers, that the one thing the reformer must never count for or against himself is time. We know that with the greatest Reformer of all a thousand years is as one day, and a day as a thousand years.

In 1859 Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "We shall not live to see slavery abolished." At about the same time Wendell Phillips said, on the eve of the firing of the gun at Fort Sumter, just as the rivers of blood were about to flow, "Slavery will not go down in blood; ours is the age of thought." Lowell said, "The dreams that nations dream come true." We shall have to change that saying now into, "The dreams of wise men and women (like the wise men and women of the Lake Mohonk Peace Conference) are the dreams that nations dream, and the dreams that nations dream come true." Emerson said, "Hitch your wagon to a star." Such experience as this shows that it is not necessary. If you will but *be* true, and *do* true, the very stars in the heavens will come down and hitch themselves to you, and bear your wagon through the skies as a chariot of glory.

There are some aspects of the subject before us to-night — industrialism and peace — which I should like to hear discussed before this audience by accredited representatives of labor. I should like to hear some great trade unionist leader, some organizer of the working classes, stand up here before you and tell you the story as they know it from their own experience. I know many men and women in that movement, any one of whom I am sure would be *persona grata* in this hospitable home of ideas. They would tell you the story to which Professor Clark alluded this morning with so much fairness and so much fullness, the story of how the labor organizations always stand for arbitration.

The reason why these labor organizations have spoken so constantly for arbitration, and have always been so true to that ideal, is not far to seek. It is not only because, as we were told this morning, they feel that the movement in which they are engaged is an international movement. They are in favor of international arbitration because they want arbitration at home. They want arbitration between the nations because they see in that a precedent for arbitration between the buyers and sellers of labor, between the disputants of the business world, between the contestants in the labor civil war. The workingmen do not see much difference between the war which is waged between nations and the war which is waged in the market. They see that selfishness is the root of the whole trouble. War is selfishness murdering with gunpowder: selfishness which murders with competition, or consolidation, or contract, is equally war. The working men think that the war which uses steel is no worse than the war which uses a "steel trust." They want arbitration abroad because they want arbitration at home; they are opposed to the one kind of war because they feel that they are sufferers from another kind of war just as grievous.

But this organized labor of which I have spoken represents, alas!

only a minority of the working classes, for only a fifth or sixth of them belong to trades unions. It is, after all, the shouts and the shots, the votes and the dollars of the workingmen that feed the wars of which we complain. But the best spirits among the working people always speak against war and for arbitration, — men like John Burns. When I was in London a few weeks ago, I heard the story of how that very wonderful man had stood up against his own constituents, almost alone against the workingmen of London. So intense was the feeling against him, when on the outbreak of the South African war he spoke in favor of arbitration and of peace, and against the brutal method of settling the difficulties, that the excitement finally culminated in a mob of no less than ten thousand men, on Lavender Hill, Battersea, around his house, threatening dire vengeance against him. They broke his windows and threatened his life, and for forty-eight hours, as he told me, he stood in the doorway of his home, his wife and children behind him, with nothing but his own stout heart and a cricket bat between them and what seemed sure destruction. He refused to ask for police protection, and he stood there and kept his guard until the crowd, daunted by his bravery, or growing ashamed, faded away. Then John Burns placarded the streets of Battersea with the announcement that on a certain night he would speak "Against the War." Needless to say, the audience was immense. When the speaker mounted the platform a disturbance at once began. Burns saw that this disturbance was led by two ring-leaders, who he knew perfectly well were sent there by the interests that were fomenting the South African war. Gaining the audience's attention during a lull in the disturbance, he said, "I can speak, and I can fight; but I cannot do both at once. This disturbance is being made by those two men (pointing to them), and I propose to deal with them first." Jumping off the platform, he went to the two men and polished them off in true British style. Then, taking them by the back of their necks, he marched them outside, came back master of his audience, and made one of his brilliant speeches in denunciation of the policy of the war.

If I were asked to mention the one development in our industrial revolution which seems to me the most significant in its bearing on international arbitration, I should place first the development of "compulsory (so-called) arbitration" in New Zealand. Although that compulsory arbitration applies only to labor disputes, it does have, as I will indicate to you, a very important bearing upon the question of international arbitration.

First, a word about New Zealand, that charming spot which lies opposite our feet, — a paradise of democracy, the advanced experiment station of liberalism; where the scenery is a compound of the beautiful scenery of all the rest of the world; lakes as beautiful as those of Italy, mountains like the Alps, fiords like those of Norway, plains and rivers like those of England; a country so healthy that the only meaning attached to the words "parasites" is "social parasites," — and when anybody in New Zealand speaks about social

parasites, you know that he is alluding to millionaires; a country which has flowered into democracy just as Japan has flowered into art; a country with some quaint and curious things for the traveler to talk about, — crows that sing, robins that have no red breast, a bird which has a song so sweet and short that they call it the "parson bird," wingless birds in great varieties; a country of paradoxes, — where the wild hen is a domestic animal, and where the wingless bird is the great rat catcher; a country where they have a caterpillar that turns into a plant and blossoms after death, — a process that has its parallel in the epitaphs of our own churchyards, with this difference, that in the case of the New Zealand caterpillar you can see the connection. [Laughter.]

It is in this New Zealand alone, of all civilized countries, that we have been able to put into practical and successful operation a scheme of arbitration. I said that this is miscalled "compulsory" arbitration, because it is in no special or invidious sense compulsory; it is public arbitration. Arbitration has been made a public institution, like our courts. Men are not compelled to take their cases into our courts; labor and capital are not compelled to take their cases into the arbitration courts of New Zealand. It is not as compulsory as our sanitation or our education and taxation. We have in Boston and in Chicago, and, I think, in New York, public bath-houses supported by taxation, so that we see civilization already developed to this point — that we are compelled to wash each other's feet. [Laughter.] Arbitration is compulsory in New Zealand only as it gives one of the parties to a labor dispute the right to call the other party into court; but both parties are left perfectly free to settle their disputes in any other way they choose outside of the court, and there can be no arbitration if both employer and employee avoid it.

I can, of course, do nothing more than merely indicate to you some of the details of this institution. Perhaps I can interest you in its working and show its principles to you in no more easy way than by telling you of the new "Song of the Shirt" that they have in New Zealand. You all know the old "Song of the Shirt," which tells how, —

> "With fingers weary and worn,
> With eyelids heavy and red,
> A woman sat, in unwomanly rags,
> Plying her needle and thread."

That old "Song of the Shirt" is a lost chord in the social economy of New Zealand. Under the system which prevails in the clothing trades in other countries, when the sewing women are notified by their employer that their wages are to be reduced, there is nothing for them to do but to strike or to submit; and the sewing woman usually changes her weak cup of tea for one still weaker, for her scanty crust she takes one scantier, and she goes to live in a still dingier room. But not so in New Zealand; around the sewing woman in New Zealand the law has drawn a ring of protection. The manufacturer cannot escape with mere statements to the public

about the enormous wages of his women and the scanty profit he is making. The Sewing Woman's Organization serves notice upon him like a complaint in a suit; he has to appear before the arbitration court. The court can compel him to bring his books, and to make known to them — not necessarily to the public — every fact of his business which it is essential for them to know in order to reach a just decision. Meanwhile, the sewing woman sits in the factory — lighted, ventilated, made sanitary by the laws and the supervision of the State — at work, for one of the fundamental provisions of the law is that pending the settlement of the dispute there shall be neither strike nor lockout, but the work shall go on. So this woman sits there while her cause is being argued, secure and in the receipt of her regular wages, knowing that they cannot be reduced without the concurrence of disinterested and experienced men, who have no other aim but to see that economic justice is done to her and to her employer. This is the new "Song of the Shirt." [Applause.]

How this experiment has worked after seven years' trial you may judge from the fact that for nearly seven years there has been no strike of organized labor and no lockout in New Zealand, and also from the fact that both the capitalists and their employers are opposed to federation with Australia, because in that event they might lose the benefits of this arbitration system. The capitalists have not fled, as they threatened to do when arbitration was proposed. They have stayed and prospered, the most interesting of the wingless birds for which their country is famous.

We can learn three things from this example of New Zealand. In the first place, it shows us a democratic community, the most democratic community in the world to-day, adopting arbitration at home. In the second place, — and here is its bearing upon the question of international arbitration, — it shows us that arbitration must be enforceable. And in the third place, — and this again bears upon the question of international arbitration and peace, — this institution came not from a class, but from the whole people.

You have heard here how when one day at Mount Vernon Lord Coleridge expressed his surprise that Washington had been so strong as to be able to throw a dollar across the Potomac, Mr. Evarts explained that his lordship must remember that in those days a dollar would go much farther than it will now! That is a continued story, and I will give you the next instalment in the reply of Lord Coleridge. Lord Coleridge said that when he came to think of it, the feat of throwing a dollar across the Potomac was nothing to Washington's other feat of throwing a sovereign across the Atlantic! [Laughter.] The best way for us to emulate Washington's example of throwing sovereigns across the Atlantic is to keep up our supply of sovereigns at home, making every citizen sovereign, — sovereign in the markets as well as at the polls, sovereign over prices and production as well as over the presidency. And when we have a nation of such sovereigns, we shall have the real and firm foundation on which we can build international arbitration and all the other social reforms for which we stand. [Applause.]

ADDRESS OF REV. FLOYD W. TOMKINS, S.T.D.

I am very glad to be permitted to speak on this subject of "Industrialism and Peace," for two reasons. First, because the industrial classes are not here to speak for themselves, and it is a privilege to speak for them; and secondly, because it gives an opportunity for us to do something in the cause for which we have met. We all recognize the necessity of doing something. Carlyle says that "the way to do anything is to do it"; and the way to start out is to begin it. This Conference is the place to get suggestions, and there is nothing that draws out suggestions more than the subject before us for consideration this evening.

I don't like that word "industrial" classes; we are all industrious, or ought to be. Markham's poem, "The Man with the Hoe," is perfectly ridiculous. Yet we know perfectly well that there are certain classes of men — they are not represented here to-night — who are working from nine to twelve hours a day all through the year, with possibly a week's vacation, when they forfeit their wages. And, my friends, they are the noblest people that we have in this country. I believe in going a little further than Mr. Lloyd, and saying that the workingmen favor international arbitration not only because they want arbitration at home, but because their ideas of right are high. They are not working for selfish ends, but for the advancement of the race. There are no truer citizens under God's heaven to-day than the workingmen of America. [Applause.]

I know a good many workingmen, and they stand up for international arbitration because they believe in eternal justice. Now, if we can apply that justice at home, it will make their interest and their zeal increase towards forwarding international arbitration. In other words, as Mr. Lloyd has suggested, we need to-day to favor — and if necessary, to force — arbitration here at home, arbitration which shall bring men together, no matter whether rich or poor, black or white, learned or ignorant.

I wish you would read that wonderful book of Mr. Lloyd's, "A Country without Strikes," which he was too modest to mention. If they can manage it in New Zealand, why cannot we do it in enlightened America? Why can we not as individuals, when difficulties occur in our neighborhood, go in and say to one side or the other, "Here now, arbitrate"? There are men in this country who have done it. That distinguished prelate, the Bishop of New York, has done it again and again. Men are ready to listen, whether they are on strike or not, to a person who tries to bring about a condition of affairs which shall help both parties and also help the whole community. There will be, I am perfectly sure, invariably a ready response. We ought to do it; nay more, we ought to enforce it, it seems to me, as one of the great truths taught from our platforms, from our pulpits, and in our public schools, that no man has a right to allow any strike or any difficulty between himself and his employees,

because of the danger to the welfare of the whole community; that the whole community demands that declaration of practical justice which shall make every man know that he cannot carry on his business just exactly as he pleases, but is bound to carry on his business for the welfare of the community at large; and while he has a certain amount of freedom, while he has a certain seclusion into which no man can enter, yet just as soon as his affairs become public, then the public can say, "Here, sir, you must come into amicable relationship with those with whom you are at warfare, that the public may not suffer."

It does seem to me that we can do something of this kind; that we can do in our individual capacity a great deal by moral suasion. Wives can influence their husbands, and young women their sweethearts, and lawyers and judges and other men can influence their friends, so that it will become a recognized fact, just as naturally taken in as the atmosphere that we breathe, that where there are disputes they shall be settled not by strikes, not by outbreaks of feeling, but by a body of men, capable of judging fairly and disinterestedly, taking up the difficulties and settling them. I hope that by and by we shall have a national, as well as an international, court of arbitration. I hope that the time will soon come when we will recognize that we cannot live with things going on as they have been going on in industrial matters for years past.

How much interest do we take in this matter? These workingmen have very little time, they have very little opportunity for relaxation. Oh, how hard they are working while we are enjoying ourselves here! Have we ever given them a thought, except virtually to recognize that they are our slaves? Do we ever realize that they are our brethren? Do we ever realize that we have a duty to them? Do we think of this problem at all?

It seems to me that this matter of arbitration ought to begin in the home. Do you ever arbitrate about your servants — do you ever think of any suggestion concerning the possibility of justice to them? Oh, what a glorious thing it is when we find some such spirit as that! We were delighted when we went to the dining room on the first day of our arrival here, and saw the young ladies who have so courteously waited upon us *sitting* at the tables until their services should be required. [Applause.] That is only a part of the magnificent system which we have seen illustrated here. I wish we had a little more of it in our private houses. I wish we recognized the fact that there is no earthly reason why the young lady who pours our coffee should be Jane or Susan, while our typewriter is Miss Smith or Miss Brown!

There is another thing. Why cannot we have a faint conception of the fact, which was discovered long ago by good Charles Kingsley, that there are such things as "cheap clothes and nasty"? Why is it that we men will go to our tailor and order a suit of clothes, and pay no attention as to how they are made or where they are made? Men and women are making men's clothing at a price which would

not be enough if it were doubled to keep the wolf from the door. Men and women and little children in sweat shops are making clothing for ladies at a price that is simply outrageous. That is a matter for home arbitration. Let people see that you are interested in this, and before long there will be national arbitration.

I appeal for that justice which must lie at the very foundation of all arbitration, that love of man for man,— the weak caring for the strong, the richer caring for the poorer, not as those who are slaves, but as those who are brothers and sisters; every man recognizing that he has no right to live at the expense of his brethren; every man recognizing that he must care for his brethren even more than he cares for himself. Dr. Mark Hopkins used to catechize the students at Williams College in the old days out of the Westminster Catechism. He would say, "Jones, what is the chief end of man?" "To glorify God and enjoy Him forever, sir." "Smith, what is the chief end of man?" "I agree with Jones, sir." Then he would call up the worst man in the class: "Tompkins, what is the chief end of man?" "To glorify God and enjoy Him forever, sir." "Ah, well, why do n't you go and do it then?" [Laughter.]

Friends, it is a magnificent thing to meet in conference, and the work tells; but it will tell really just in proportion as you and I live in our own lives the things that we have heard, as we practice that which we preach. "Dad," said a boy coming home from a prayer meeting, "I wish I had some of your money." "What for, my boy?" "Why, dad, if I had, I would answer some of your prayers!" And there is such a thing as our answering our own prayers. There is such a thing as our bringing into practical power those truths concerning which we confer, for which we pray. It demands some self-denial; it demands work; it demands unselfishness; it demands heroism. But it brings down the blessing of God, and as the result of that blessing there will come that strong, helpful relation between men which shall make a helpful relation between all classes of men, which shall give us helpful relations between governments.

"God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor, — men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty and in private thinking"

ADDRESS OF DR. JOSIAH STRONG.

At the beginning of this twentieth century after the advent of the Prince of Peace the nations are beating their ploughshares into swords and their pruning-hooks into spears. Never before in history have the armaments of the nations been so great or so costly. In view

of this fact, it would seem as if the progress of the world had not been toward that time when "nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation." But if we should draw this inference we should be as mistaken as possible, for there are to-day causes at work in the world which are destined to wage successful warfare against war and ultimately to destroy its destruction. Foremost among these causes is modern or organized industry.

Philosophers of history are very apt to ascribe the progress of civilization chiefly or wholly to some one cause, as, for instance, religion, or climatic and physical conditions, or the evolution of thought, or the action and reaction of institutions upon each other, or the embodiment of great ideas in great men. All of these causes have been profoundly operative. Some have been more effective in some ages and among some peoples than others; some are more influential at certain stages of civilization than at other stages. But there is one cause which has had scant attention at the hands of the philosopher, which is profoundly effective among all peoples, at every stage of civilization, and in every age, and every day of every year of every age, and that is the necessity of something to eat!

Tell me one thing about a people, — namely, what is the form of their industry, how they get their living,— and I will tell you a hundred things about that people. Do they get their living by the chase? Then they are savages. Do they get their living directly from domesticated animals? Then their government, their social institutions, their usages, their customs of life, their domicile are all such as characterize a nomadic civilization. Do they get their living directly from the soil? Then the tent becomes the house; government, laws, social institutions, customs, all these are profoundly and radically changed, and they have all the characteristics which belong to an agricultural civilization. Do they get their living by traffic? Then their merchants and sailors returning from afar bring back new and stimulating ideas, and these people develop an art, a literature, laws, customs, a government, virtues, vices, as different from those of the plowmen and the herdsmen as their occupations are different. We must not then be surprised that the industrial revolution of the past century has produced and is producing a new civilization, profoundly different from the other civilizations already named.

This new civilization, introduced by the industrial revolution, has been produced primarily by the steam engine, or, to speak a little more broadly, by man's gaining control of forces which were not muscular,— by tapping the great reservoir of force which has always surrounded him, but which he has never known how to use until a few generations ago. The steam engine de-individualized and centralized power, and that is the fundamental cause for the transition from an individualistic to a collective type of civilization. This produced the factory, the organization of industry, the division of labor, the redistribution of population; in short, the social or collective civilization.

As industry becomes more and more organized and labor becomes more and more specialized, we find a growing interdependence. And as facility of intercommunication increases, the area of competition enlarges; the successful manufacturer drives his inferior competitor into some other business or absorbs him. Thus as industry is progressively organized, we find that interdependence becomes wider and more complete. For instance, New England does not now attempt to produce her own grain. It is not agriculturally impossible for her to do so, but it is commercially impossible. It is much cheaper for her to buy her grain from the Dakotas, and pay for it with manufactured products. She brings her sub-tropical fruits from Florida and Southern California; her meats from the West; her cottons from the South; her iron from Pennsylvania; her precious metals from the Rocky Mountains, — and she pays for all these with her manufactured products. And in so doing she receives better service, her workmen get better wages and larger returns for their work.

Thus we have developed through this organized industry of the nation an intimate and interdependent national life, so that the interests of one section have become the interests of all sections. Suppose a frost kills the cotton crop, or drought greatly injures corn or wheat, every industry shares the loss. All the great industries have become allied one with the other; they have common interests.

Now, what has taken place in the United States and in Great Britain, and is taking place in other nations as the industrial revolution makes its way around the world, is destined to take place in a still larger sense in the organization of a *world* industry. Indeed, we have already entered upon this final stage; the world industry has already begun to be organized; we are beginning to live a world life. The nations are just now entering into severe international competition with one another; and no nation is so well fitted for that competition as the United States.

The great conditions of successful competition in this day of organized industry are five: cheap coal, cheap iron (for coal is king and iron is his sceptre), low labor cost, — I do not say low wages, but low labor cost, which is a very different thing, — cheap raw materials and ready access to markets. Now all five of these conditions belong to us supremely here in the United States. And these five advantages are like the five fingers of a mighty hand stretched out to grasp the industrial supremacy of the world's future. Many of you will say that the low wages of European nations give them an advantage, but investigation shows that while wages are higher here, our labor cost is low, for the reason that we are making more use of machinery and of better machinery than any other nation.

And we have still another advantage in this industrial competition, for the European manufacturing nations are handicapped with great standing armies. The manufacturing peoples who are our rivals in Europe are England, Germany, France and Belgium. We will confine

our attention for a few minutes to them. The standing army of France on a peace footing is 579,000 men; of Germany, 691,000 men; of Belgium, 57,000 men; of Great Britain, 254,000 men, — and if the bill now before Parliament, designed to reorganize the British army, becomes a law, then the standing army of Great Britain will be raised to something over 700,000 men, if I remember right; while our standing army, according to the bill passed by our late Congress, is, at the highest, only 100,000 men.

Without stopping to tell you precisely how many men must coöperate to support a soldier in each of these countries, let me say that the four European nations to which I have referred are from seven to fifteen times as much handicapped by a standing army as are the people of the United States. Now this is a tremendous disadvantage where competition is sharp, as it is sharp to-day and growing sharper between these four European powers and the United States.

Gladstone prophesied some thirty years ago in words like these: "The day will come when America will be what England is now — the greatest servant in the world's great household." Even in 1880 that prophecy began to see its fulfilment, for the manufactures of the United States that year exceeded those of Great Britain by upwards of six hundred million dollars, but the world took no note of the fact because the products were consumed here at home. The year 1898 was a notable one in the world's commercial history, because then for the first time our manufactured exports exceeded our manufactured imports. European manufacturers have already become alarmed, so that officials of state are beginning to discuss the question of an industrial combination against the United States.

What does this signify? When a manufacturer is very much undersold he must do one of two things, — he must either cheapen his production or go out of business. The European nation cannot go out of business; they must have something to eat. Not one of the four manufacturing nations referred to can produce its own food supply. Food must be imported, and they must exchange their manufactured products for that food. They must resort to every possible means to cheapen the cost of production, and that means ultimately the destruction of the standing army. I cannot stop to develop that point, however.

The natural result of the international competition upon which we are now entering will be to drive capital out of unprofitable industries and compel it to seek some more profitable field of investment. Thus the production of certain articles of commerce will become commercially impossible in certain countries, precisely as it has become commercially impossible to raise wheat in New England. England and Germany, for instance, will discover in time that they cannot compete with the United States in producing iron and steel. When the world's industries are fully organized, we shall make most of the steel and iron for the world.

Thus, by reason of natural resources, or of climate, or of some

peculiar skill on the part of the people, the great industries will be localized and divided among the various nations, just as our national productions, for similar reasons, are divided between the various states. And as we have developed a national life in which the various states are dependent on each other, there will in time be developed a world life in which the various nations will be dependent on each other. When that time comes, a nation will no more think of making war on another nation upon which it is dependent for the necessaries of life than Massachusetts would think of making war on the source of her wheat or cotton supply.

All this means that the progressive organization of industry is developing a world-wide brotherhood. It means that notwithstanding racial antipathies, and notwithstanding the prejudices of religion, notwithstanding international jealousies, notwithstanding the selfishness of human nature, —

> "For a' that, and a' that,
> It 's coming yet for a' that;
> That man to man the world o'er
> Shall brithers be for a' that."

It was one of the sayings of Matthew Arnold that "force and right rule the world, — force until right is ready." It seems to me, my friends, that, religious considerations aside, it does not require the eye of a prophet, but only the eye of reason, to see Right putting on her royal robes and making ready to ascend her throne where will be committed to her the sceptre of peace with which forever she shall rule and bless the world. [Applause.]

The subject was then thrown open for discussion by the members of the Conference, and short addresses were made by Dr. W. G. Ballantine of Springfield, Mass., and Mr. Howard M. Jenkins of Philadelphia.

Dr. W. G. Ballantine: I have the pleasure of presenting a resolution which I hope will commend itself to the judgment of the Conference, as it seems to me strictly in line with the main point that is before us.

Our great question is, After the establishment of the Court at The Hague, what next? Something has been said here about the establishment of an international force to enforce the decrees of this Court. Every one can see a great many difficulties in connection with such an idea as that. But there is one thing we might do which is practical, and which would at once bring some of the benefits of this great tribunal to those parts of the civilized world where they are most needed.

The world is divided into great powers and small powers. It would be very hard to get a great power like Germany or Russia to agree at once to submit all of its difficulties to the Hague Court, and promise to abide by its decisions. And it would be very hard to get the rest of the world to guarantee that in case Russia or Germany or

England refused to accept the decision of that Court, the decision would be enforced. But there are many small nations in connection with which this difficulty would not appear, and I would therefore like to offer this resolution:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Conference, an important step towards disarmament would be taken if the great powers would unite in guaranteeing the rights of every small nation which should refer its difficulties with other nations to the Court at The Hague.

Such a guarantee would at once relieve a small and poor nation like Greece from the burden of maintaining an army. I was in Greece four years ago at the outbreak of the war with Turkey, when Colonel Vassos marched away from Athens to invade Crete. Many people in this country misunderstood that struggle. In my opinion that effort of Greece to free Crete is the sublimest national act of modern times. The little kingdom of Greece stood in the same relation to Crete as the United States did to Cuba. The United States rose in her lordly power and freed Cuba; but poor little Greece struck at ferocious Turkey, and the European powers allowed poor little Greece to be trampled in the dust. But these powers did not allow Turkey to enjoy her victory, and Crete was saved. Now if there had been a court at that time to which Greece could have appealed, and if the court had decided that the time had come to free Crete, and if the powers of Europe had done as they did later, — decided that the time had come to free Crete, — that war would have been averted.

The Conference approved Dr. Ballantine's resolution as above.

Mr. Howard M. Jenkins: Following upon the subject that was suggested in part last evening, and that which we have been considering this evening, I have a little matter to mention which I think, in justice to this Conference, and in justice to the people of whom I am about to speak, ought to be mentioned.

About the time that the Czar of Russia was making his preparatory announcement which led up to the Conference at The Hague two years ago, there were among his subjects a body of people whom we had come to know as the Doukhobors. Now these people illustrated in a rather peculiar and most practical manner one of the things that he was about to suggest, — the beginning of disarmament, or a reduction of armaments. For they were people who had given especial attention to the Four Gospels, and who — strange as it may seem to many of us, and strange as it may seem to the so-called civilized people of to-day — actually took the commands of our Divine Master at their face, and they were therefore unwilling to fight against their fellow-men. It resulted from the convictions which they have formed concerning the teachings of our Master that they refused to serve in the Russian armies, and ultimately they burned and destroyed the guns which had been put into their hands, — an act which was a most practical step in the reduction of armaments.

But from that time they could not live peaceably and comfortably in Russia. They were driven from the land which they then occupied, a fertile part of Southern Russia, into the regions beyond the Caucasus Mountains; and they were persecuted there, and many of their strongest and best men were sent to Siberia, where some of them still remain. But in the year 1898, some of them caught the attention of the Dowager Empress of Russia, and they were given permission to emigrate.

Now it happened in 1899 — largely by the assistance of people in England, the Friends in England — that all of those people who were willing to emigrate, and who were in a position to get away (I think about seven thousand men, women and children), were brought in ships from ports on the Black Sea to ports in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. They are now in Assiniboia chiefly, in large colonies northwest from Winnipeg about five hundred miles, and they are examples of exactly what we have been talking about this evening — industry combined with peace.

I want to say that a most unreasonable, a most unfounded and a most grotesque tale has been told about these Doukhobors lately in the newspapers, and it occurred to me that it was a very good opportunity, and not at all unsuitable to the subjects we are discussing, to say that those examples of disarmament and of peace are not only not doing badly, but they are doing exceedingly well; not only are they not disliked in Canada, but they are very much approved and very much appreciated by the government officials. About six weeks ago the whole subject was gone over in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, and the representatives of the government — including the official who corresponds to our Secretary of the Interior — not only defended the Doukhobors, but approved of them in every possible way. In addition to this, an English Friend, Joseph Ashworth of Manchester, recently went to all the several colonies, and has written his observations of them, and he also says that they are not only not doing badly, but that they are doing admirably well. So that as examples of people who do not wish to fight against their fellow-men, and of people who combine industry with peace, I do not believe there are seven thousand people between Hudson's Bay and the Isthmus of Panama that on the whole better exemplify what we shall hope to see in the course of time than these same Spirit Wrestlers who came from Russia. [Applause.]

The Conference then adjourned till Friday, at 10 A. M.

Fifth Session.

Friday Morning, May 31, 1901.

THE Conference was called to order at 10 o'clock by the President.

The morning was occupied in listening to ten-minute addresses by Com. Albion V. Wadhams, U. S. N.; Hon. Hiram R. Steele of New York City; Mrs. Jennie de la M. Lozier of New York City; Rev. J. Milton Green, D. D., of Porto Rico; Gen. Egbert L. Viele of New York City; Mr. David G. Haskins, Jr., of Boston, and Pres. George B. Stewart of Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn, N. Y.

ADDRESS OF COMMANDER ALBION V. WADHAMS, U. S. NAVY.

During the meetings of this convention we have listened to addresses from so many learned and scholarly men that I am somewhat embarrassed at being called upon to speak. Fortunately, I am not asked to speak as they have spoken; I cannot do so. No one expects from a sailor such an address as is readily given by professors or the clergy. We all agree that each should occupy the place that is his own, and there exert the influence which God gives him. It is with this thought in mind that I respond to the invitation kindly given me to speak at this meeting on disarmament.

During the interesting addresses that we have heard upon many subjects, from learned men, the thought came to me that this convention presents opportunities somewhat similar to a post-graduate course at one of our large universities. And then came the thought: Yes, it is better than that, because it is cheaper. [Laughter.]

Before I express my thoughts about disarmament, which I can do in a few words, I ask a moment in regard to arbitration and an armed international force. Since our first meeting on Wednesday morning we have heard a good deal about arbitration, and I wish to put myself on record that I believe *that* is the desirable means of settling disputes among nations. I must confess that I am somewhat impatient, and regret that matters now under diplomatic discussion between our government and England have not been, ere this, referred to the Court at The Hague. Perhaps my impatience is due to my naval education. In the navy, when we have anything to do, we get at it and keep at it until it is finished. If we are in earnest,— and I believe we are,— it is the duty of the members of this convention to use all their influence with our government to immediately refer all questions between our own and other governments, that

cannot be otherwise easily settled, to the Hague Court for adjudication. What an influence for good it would be for the whole world if our country should be first in this matter!

The proposition to have an armed international force, as mentioned by others, has struck a chord of sympathy in many hearts. There are several objections, however, to such an armed force. The question arises at once: Who is to command and what must each nation contribute? While these questions can, no doubt, be settled, still it is best to have but few nations connected with an armed force. For some years I have suggested, as opportunity offered, that this country, England and her colonies unite their armed forces in the interests of peace and, if necessary, guarantee to the weaker nations their rights. The sense of fair play is so widely distributed throughout this country and Great Britain that, should these nations unite as suggested, I believe, in case nations did not refer their disputes to The Hague, and it became necessary for this country and England to use force, that justice would be done to all concerned.

In regard to disarmament. I shall be in favor of disarmament when it is no longer necessary for Mr. Smiley on Sunday to lock the gates that close the roads leading to this hotel, in order that he may enjoy the quiet which is his right; when it is not necessary to have armed policemen in our own cities and militia in each State; when we are sure, very sure, that all the other nations have disarmed,—then, *but not till then*, can we think of disarming.

It was with much pleasure that I noticed that Dr. Hale did not include naval officers among those whom he advised the members of this convention to try to interest in matters of arbitration. The men who bear arms are naturally in favor of arbitration, for they know from experience the horrors of war. The navy of this nation has existed for one hundred and twenty-five years, and during that time it has never been a menace to the country. The navy is to-day, as it has ever been, the outer line of defense of the country. It must also look out for the rights of our people wherever they may be found throughout the world. For that reason, instead of disarmament, we must have a navy much larger than what we now have. It must be one commensurate with our place and national influence throughout the world.

ADDRESS OF HON. HIRAM R. STEELE.

Until I came here to attend this Conference, I knew very little about the splendid work you are doing or the progress that has been made, or what a delightful class of people Mr. Smiley is able to get together on these occasions. I shall go away greatly interested in the work and inspired with confidence as to the possibility of ultimate success. In the few minutes allowed me, I wish to suggest some of the things that we had better not do. I think we ought to confine ourselves to the main question and avoid the discussion of matters which will create dissension.

If we are to succeed in this work, we must have the united support of the American people; they must see the entire propriety, justice and wisdom of what we propose. Through them we shall secure the assistance of our government, and our executive and diplomatic agents will be able to influence the other nations of the world.

I do not believe it is wise or necessary for the purposes which we have in view to advocate disarmament. Upon that question there will be a difference of opinion which will lead to dissensions. There is a good deal to be said on both sides of that question. Disarmament is one of the natural consequences of our work, and it may come in time. But we could ill afford at present to dispense with that protection of which the American people have need to-day more than ever. It is our powerful navy which has made it possible for the United States government to exercise such an influence to-day in Eastern affairs.

I do not believe it is necessary to take the position that all past wars have been unholy wars; that the memory of the past should be blotted out; that our text-books should be changed; and that our children should not be taught to honor the memory of our forefathers who created this government, or that they should not be taught to honor the memory of our defenders who saved the nation in recent times. Nor do I think it necessary or wise to say that our army is not a creditable body of men. Why, it makes my blood boil when I hear remarks which are intended to create the impression that our soldiers and sailors are a debauched, degraded and demoralized set of men. It is not true. We have the grandest body of men defending our land that can be produced in the whole world. The first thing that is taught at West Point and Annapolis is that the man who wears the United States uniform must be a gentleman, and that influence permeates the whole army and navy. Our army and navy commands the respect and admiration of the civilized world; and it certainly should have the support and gratitude of every loyal American citizen.

ADDRESS OF MRS. JENNIE DE LA M. LOZIER.

I do not believe that women have known enough about arbitration to do anything particular for it, but when they are better informed they may accomplish much for this cause. And they may work along their own lines; they need not step out of their province in any way. We are largely the educators of the young; we deal with the rising generation and form ideas and ideals in the minds of the children. It is just there that I think we can work, — as educators, as mothers, and as members of women's organizations. The first thing that we may do as educators is to propose a new way of studying history. The old way was simply to study the dates and names of battles, the number of people who went up to the battle

and the number who came down. The children had little more idea of history than the nursery rhyme would indicate:

"The king of France with forty thousand men,
Drew their swords and put them up again."

Perhaps their impressions were about as clear as those of the Englishman who, on his visit to Bunker Hill Monument, when he was told, "There Warren fell," said, "Did it hurt him much?" We must show that history has to do with progress and development, that it is a record of the commercial, the moral and the social evolution of man, and that war is only an accident of development, not a finality. We must show that force is only one means, and that it is not all. We must get away from the physical into the moral. This is being done constantly in our educational schemes. I was much impressed the other day in a public school to hear the children sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" with a slight variation. They sang:

"Conquer we must
When our cause it is just."

I thought that a very good idea. Now when they sing that song they will know there is something to be considered about our cause beside the fact that it is ours. We must acknowledge that it is sweet to die for one's country, for it is sweet to sacrifice one's life for any good cause; but we must differentiate between wars. We must show that there are wars and wars, — wars of conquest, and wars relating to mercy; wars for the protection of the innocent and for the rescue of the perishing. Let us endeavor to arouse the moral sense in the children.

We can also do something by appealing to the organized bodies of women in behalf of arbitration. There is now in this country a great body of women, Club women, who have organized for various purposes; there are thirty thousand such women in the State of New York alone, and there are hundreds of thousands of them in the United States. They have delightful conventions and conferences, and I have been present at many of them during the last ten years, but I have never heard the word "arbitration" mentioned. We may take them something new from this Conference. Oliver Wendell Holmes says, "Nothing gives some people so much pain as a new idea"; I do not think our club women will suffer in that way, and it will be my pleasure and my privilege to do what I can to disseminate among them the truths that I have learned here. I shall try to start a propaganda among the organized bodies of women in favor of arbitration, so that when the fathers and brothers bring home these new thoughts and new ideas the women may be receptive and helpful. If every progressive movement needs for its success the favorable atmosphere of intelligent sympathy, then it would be wise to create an interest in this subject among the women of the country.

The Rev. J. Milton Green, D. D., a missionary from San Juan,

Porto Rico, was then introduced by the Chairman. As his speech did not deal with the subject before the Conference, only a brief digest of it is given.

Mr. Green: No fairer gem rests upon the bosom of the sea, in my conception, than Porto Rico. It has a central range of mountains rising like a great amethyst, girt about with a circle of foot hills which under the tropical sun seem like glittering emeralds. I know not where in all this fair world you could find a more perfect blending of colors, a more perfect harmony of tints, than you can find in that island. The fertility of the island is unsurpassed; even on the very summits of the mountains, the amiable good nature of the people and the ideal character of the climate make it seem a sacrifice to live anywhere else after having lived there.

I think that never did a people welcome a change of government with more heartiness and enthusiasm than did the Porto Ricans when our flag was hoisted on the eighteenth day of October, 1898. The mass of them understood that that flag represented equality without distinction of color, of culture, of wealth, or of social position. As I have moved a great deal among the people during the last year and a half, I have found that there is slumbering in their hearts a great hope.

Since 1895, there has been a decline in the industrial condition of the island. The Spaniards had their attention diverted at that time to Cuba; many of the capitalists began to lessen their interests; the sugar lands were suffered to become mere pasture lands, and the great mass of the people were therefore left without employment. Then came the change of government, and the uncertainty attending that event. At the most, only one-fourth of the land of the island has ever been under cultivation, and during these recent years much less even than that, and there are thousands of people in the island to-day who are practically dying of starvation.

I want to say a word about the vital element in the problem that confronts us in Porto Rico, — it is the need of building character. In all those Spanish colonies the same thing is true: to use a Wall Street phrase, they are "short" on character. Character is built on truth, and truth is the great thing that has been denied them. For us the great problem is how to give them truth. Will the government give them truth? Will the Roman Catholic Church give them truth? If not, then it rests upon the Protestant Christian churches of our own land to supply them with it.

I came from Porto Rico four weeks ago by way of Cuba, where my future work is to lie. On the steamer was a Spaniard who met an old friend when we reached Havana, and the friend said to him, "It must be very sad to you to see the Stars and Stripes flying from Morro Castle." The Spaniard replied, "No, sir, that does not give me so much pain as the fact that the Americans in two years have done more for this island than Spain did in four hundred years." [Applause.]

[Gen. E. L. Viele of New York next addressed the meeting. The stenographer's report of his speech was sent to General Viele by the chairman of the Publication Committee for revision. Not hearing from him, the chairman wrote for the manuscript, but failed a second time to hear. This accounts for the absence of the speech from the report. The chairman of the Committee greatly regretted that time would not permit him to wait longer for the manuscript.]

ADDRESS OF DAVID G. HASKINS, JR.

I think that we are all very much inspired by these meetings that we have held, and though many of us may have come up here feeling somewhat discouraged, or at least disappointed, at the slow progress that has been made in this cause in the last year or two, we shall go away feeling very hopeful and much encouraged. We shall go away not only inspired by what we have heard, but feeling that steps have been taken to make this work more continuous and more permanent, and that a concerted effort is to be made to bring into active coöperation in the movement the immense business interests of this country.

It seems to me that when we go down from the mountain, and go back to our various homes and our various vocations, it would be a satisfaction to feel that each one of us has something that he may do to further the ends that we have at heart. There is no one of us so insignificant, so quiet, so retired from active scenes, that he or she may not exert some real genuine influence, even if indirect, to bring about the triumph of international arbitration and the end of war.

The Baroness Von Suttner, the Austrian lady whom many of us know as the author of that famous novel, "Lay Down Your Arms," on leaving the Hague Conference two years ago wrote: "I am most hopeful of practical results from the Peace Conference. It is to the great country beyond the sea that we look as the mighty propagandist of peace. With the Anglo-Saxons in the van of the peace movement, nothing in that direction is impossible."

What is now the object before us? The Court is ready for business, and our object is to educate public opinion — to appeal not only to the enlightened self-interest, but to the conscience and the common-sense of all classes of people. I wonder if we sufficiently realize the fact that, according to our democratic theory, each one of us is a sovereign ruler — one of many millions, it is true, but nevertheless really a sovereign; that the President and members of Congress are merely our paid agents, engaged by us to attend to our business, to which we cannot give our personal attention; and that we are, each of us, personally responsible, if at a critical moment we fail to instruct our agents, as we have opportunity, as to our views and wishes. Cannot each one of us be ready when the time comes, when a crisis comes, when a period of great national

excitement arises, to use his little influence in favor of arbitration? I believe that members of Congress, and even the President, are influenced by receiving letters and telegrams and messages from citizens all over the country; and we can all do something to see that the government as administered by our agents is administered according to the right as we understand it.

Every one of us in going away from this Conference should feel that it is a duty and a pleasure to try in some way to promote the progress of the movement. Time will only permit a few general suggestions. There are lectures to be given; there are prizes to be offered in schools and colleges for the best essays upon arbitration; there are editorials to be written in the newspapers, and articles in the magazines; there are great organizations to be reached — the various religious and literary clubs.

I think that there is a great work to be done in this movement by the various patriotic societies of the country. It sometimes seems as if those societies had comparatively little to live for, except to repeat year after year the praises of their ancestors; but here is a practical object for them. The Daughters of the Revolution, the Sons of the Revolution, the Society of Colonial Wars, the Colonial Dames, — all these various societies can now best honor the memory of their ancestors who died for their country, and can show their own patriotism best, by promoting the objects we have in view. We all know the influence that is possessed by the various Women's Clubs, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the King's Daughters, and other organizations of a like nature, and they all should be interested in the object of our Conference. And lastly, there is the Church, which it seems to me as the great army of the Prince of Peace has not yet fully awakened to its privilege and duty in this matter, and which may be stimulated, perhaps, by the formation of arbitration leagues, or in some other way.

The one practical thought that I hope may remain with us in this connection is this: that while very few of us are Rockefellers or Carnegies, — very few can found universities or build libraries, — we can all do something. This Conference is not like Artemus Ward's famous military company, entirely composed of brigadier-generals, but we can all be zealous and loyal privates enlisted for life in this great and holy war against war.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GEO. B. STEWART.

I am not unmindful of the fact that I carry in my veins and arteries the blood of ancestors who fought in the siege of Derry, and some of their spirit — barbaric possibly — still remains with me; nevertheless, I feel that we are gathered here in the interests of a great cause — international arbitration. We do not contemplate compromise, in the sense that rights are to be invaded, but we contemplate the protection of rights and the advancement of them.

We indeed put right and not might upon our banner — right as it appears in the court of reason, right as it appears in the court of justice, right as it appears in the court of religion, and not right simply as it appears in the presence of power.

I have been thinking of the indirect influence of education in relation to arbitration. We must bear in mind the fact that there are larger numbers of men and women in our colleges than ever before in the history of our country, and these are to be the leaders of thought and life all over the land. Many of them are sitting under instructors with the same ideals that we have set before us in the address of Professor Clark yesterday; and the influence of these young men and young women in the cause of arbitration is something that we cannot estimate, but it is real and potent.

Then I desire to call your attention to the relation of theological education to arbitration. I know that the theological seminary is looked upon as a certain sort of burying ground; indeed, I was introduced to an audience recently as having taken charge of the Theological "Cemetery" at Auburn. [Laughter.] I know there are some who think that the theological course is something like Philadelphia — said to be laid out along straight lines, because dead. I venture to think that there is some foundation for these opinions, but there is much more foundation for the opposite opinion, that the seminary is increasingly alive to its high mission. Therefore I wish to say a few words about the seminary's relation to this cause.

The new theological curriculum — there is a new curriculum, both in the area which it covers and in the spirit which informs it — is an important factor in educating the people along the lines along which this Conference desires the people to move. The curriculum embraces many practical subjects, and the spirit which dominates the teaching, even in those subjects regarded as theoretical or scholastic, is the spirit of service, a spirit born of a deep sense of social duty and social privilege. For example, sociology is being taught in our theological seminaries, — at least I know one with which I am intimately connected where it is being taught in a very practical way, — and our students are going out with practical ideas regarding social duties and social ideals and social privileges, not the least of which are those aimed at by this Conference. When our religious leaders and teachers are thus trained, we may hope for most valuable results in the interest of righteousness and peace.

The meeting was then thrown open for general remarks, and the following members spoke:

Rev. J. F. B. Tingling of London, Honorary Secretary of the Christian Union for Social Service: I feel that it is almost presumptuous for me to speak here, having come from so far and having no claim to be present except the courtesy of the house; but, on the other hand, I feel as though it would be ungracious if one were to be content to sit through this Conference in silence when opportunity was given for speaking a word.

When Mr. Smiley received me and my daughter, he shook my hand twice, and told me that the second shake was because I was an Englishman. [Applause.] It was quite the heartier shake of the two. I will not say that if Mr. Smiley came to England to a similar meeting we would shake his hand twice, — I don't know how many times it would be shaken, — but any American would be not less warmly welcomed. I have been reminded by some of the speeches here that in the historical text-books of the schools of America England is pictured as an enemy. I want to deprecate any such thought, and to remind friends of the complete unity of the heart of England with the heart of America on this question of international arbitration. I have been wondering, though, whether the present condition of England does not correspond to that of the man in a story told by John B. Gough. The man was leaning against a lamp-post, almost unable to move, and he said that he was in the temperance movement; that his brother was a temperance lecturer, and he went about with him as the "terrible example." However, the more you look into England the more you will see that her heart is not only with you, but it is as intensely in earnest upon this question as the heart of the people of America. [Applause.] I know it from the utterances in our ministers' meetings; I know it from private conversation; I know it so that I can say without any hesitation that I have never heard anything to the contrary. And I rather think that it has not been from our side, but from your side, that there has been coolness when we thought we were approaching practical unity. Think well of us, and if you think as well of us as we do of you, we shall get on happily. [Applause.]

Mr. Robert D. Benedict: I have heard and read much during past years of the Conference on International Arbitration at Lake Mohonk, but this is the first time I have attended, and the meetings of these three days have given me a sensation as if a little bit of the millennium had dropped down here. When the millennium arrives I do not expect to find much finer times, a much better spirit, a much more noble thought, a much higher purpose than we have had brought before us here. I am glad that this Conference is not going to degenerate into an organization, with a president and a secretary and rules of order, but that it is going to continue what I think one of the finest flowers of our civilization. I hope that it may be not only annual but perennial, and that when the year 2001 comes in there may be still a conference on international subjects of some kind at Lake Mohonk. I can have no better wish for the success of that conference than that the man who is at the head of it in that long distant year shall have as much of benevolence, as large and enlightened views, and as much of good generalship, as the man who is at the head of this one. [Applause.]

I want to say a few words on the subject of having an international police force to carry out and enforce the decrees of the Court at The Hague, and then I want to speak about the effect, in my

opinion, not of disarmament upon arbitration, but of arbitration upon disarmament.

First, as to an international police force. It has been suggested here by several speakers that there should be a plan carried out of having an executive, an international army, to enforce the decrees of the international court. I think the gentlemen who are in favor of that idea do not appreciate the difference between an "arbitration council" and a "court." A court always involves the idea of power behind it, of the nation which established the court. The great work that was done in establishing the Supreme Court of the United States has been spoken of here. It was a great work, but what would it have amounted to if at the same time had not been established the nation whose power was to be behind the court? Now we are setting up an international council on arbitration. Where is the nation whose power will be behind that council? Can any one think that the world is all going to form one nation? I think that the nations of the world will still continue to exist. It is because they are separate nations that the men who have thought out this council have hit upon this scheme of an international body whose decrees should not be enforceable except by the public sentiment, the public spirit of the nations who have agreed to that council.

I think that we waste time in considering the question of any force whereby the decrees of the council of arbitration set up at The Hague shall be enforced. I feel entirely confident that any nations that agree to submit a question to the arbitration of the council at The Hague will never venture to go back upon the decision of that tribunal which they have themselves set up.

I regret to find that I have not time to speak, as I hoped to do, upon the effect of arbitration upon disarmament.

W. Martin Jones: I would like to bring the Conference back to itself for a moment, to the first evening session of this meeting, when the question was, "The Hague International Court — What next?"

This Conference for some years has been engaged in the discussion of international arbitration, and we have gone much faster than we anticipated we could go. You will remember that when we met three or four years ago, following the failure of the general treaty of arbitration in the Senate, the sky was very black all around. Since then we have made marvelous progress. I must object to the suggestion that this Conference should recommend the renewal of the treaty between this country and Great Britain which then failed of confirmation in our Senate. Such a treaty is no longer necessary. We have passed far beyond such a treaty or such a plan for an international court. It contemplated the settlement of controversies only between Great Britain and the United States. But there is now a *world* court of arbitration. It has limited powers, to be sure; it is not an ideal court; it does not altogether conform to the suggestions of the representatives of the United States at the Conference at The Hague, who carried with them from the President of the United

States substantially the plan outlined by the New York State Bar Association; but it is, nevertheless, an established international court, and the question now is, "What next?"

I have always been taught that I should approach the next duty with earnest effort to perform it, and that until that is done I should not reach on to the second, third or fourth duty. We have spent much time in discussing propositions that are not *next*. We are not looking next to an international police, and I do not think such a force will ever be necessary. I believe that the public sentiment of the nations will enforce the decrees of the Court at The Hague. But we are not here to discuss that: that certainly is not next.

Will you let me tell you what in my judgment *is* next? It is to bring before that Court already established cases for adjudication; and I regret exceedingly that we cannot now give more time to the discussion of that phase of the question. Let us devise some plan to bring before that Court a question for settlement, and there will soon be shown to the world the utility of the Court that we have been demanding. We are not asking what next should be done by the New York State Bar Association. We are not asking that there should next be created a general society on the lines indicated by Mr. Ginn.

I would like to tell you something of the work of the New York State Bar Association in connection with this question of international arbitration. Those of you who have been here in years past know something of that work. We had at our last session a gentleman from England, who came to tell us something of what we did at The Hague. He said a Turkish delegate handed him a copy of the "Addresses of the New York State Bar Association to His Imperial Majesty, Nicholas II., and to the President of the United States, on the occasion and in commendation of the Peace Congress at The Hague, and recommending the creation of an international court," and he said, "Will you tell me what this is?" All the delegates to the Conference had received copies of these addresses. The English gentleman carefully studied the book and then gave the Turkish representative an explanation of the contents of the document. This brought from the Sultan's representative the exclamation, "Well, that is a very dangerous document." That is the document on which we base some of our expectations for the future, and I think we are disposed to agree with the Turk from his standpoint, and to admit that the principles contained in the memorial and addresses of the Bar Association are fraught with dire disaster to the oppressors of every land. At the suggestion of the gentleman who gave us this incident, the New York State Bar Association has continued its Committee on International Arbitration as a permanent part of its organization.

This Conference has something to do now, and I hope that the Business Committee will bring in a resolution something to this effect: That we memorialize the President of the United States, his Cabinet and the English government, to submit at once to the Court

at The Hague difficulties that now exist between the two countries, and that cannot be settled by ordinary methods of diplomacy. Let us also recommend that the governments that are now policing China submit to that Court the differences that cannot readily be adjusted by the ambassadors of the powers in China.

That, then, is surely the next duty that confronts us. We are indeed fast approaching that grand day when enlightened Reason shall sit upon the throne, and it alone shall wage the only battles to be fought among the children of men.

Rev. Philip S. Moxom: I said something the other night about an international police, and I have heard nothing since to make me change my views on that subject. I believe that will come and take the place of the enforcement of the rights of citizens by individual countries in foreign parts. The danger line in the world to-day is the commercial outlook, commercial rivalries; it is the clash of peoples along this line that will precipitate the next war. The one thing above all else for us to do, in my judgment, is to seek to influence the great leaders of the commerce of the world, and bring them — for the sake of universal peace, and for the sake of a sound commerce — into allegiance to this movement; to bring the commercial and financial force of our country into the front in this movement for international arbitration.

And then, along with that,— the point made so admirably by Mr. Jones, — to seek to have every dispute that our country has with another nation, which cannot be readily settled by the ordinary methods of diplomacy, brought before that Court at The Hague, and thus establish a precedent. The strongest thing in law is precedent, and the precedent of this great, powerful nation calmly laying its difficulties before that Court at The Hague will do more for the establishment of permament peace than anything else we can do.

Mr. Clement Biddle: The question of an international force may not be, What next? but it may be the next thing which will embarrass and damage our cause. The Philippine and Chinese imbroglios have made this nation a great world power, and the Court at The Hague, which was important to us formerly, is to-day essential. We cannot afford to have it weakened by ridicule, nor can we afford to make any great mistake in connection with it. And the great mistake, I fear, is this talk of an international force, veiled in the worst kind of language when we call it "police protection." We want no army to conquer peace, unless it is Dr. Hale's army, an army of successful business men, an army of boards of trade, an army of leading citizens, practical men who have much to suffer or lose by war, or the great army of women who have most at stake. Imagine for one moment raising an international navy which is going to scare England! Imagine raising an international army which is going to keep Germany or Russia in order! The very fact of the agitation of it might stir up feelings of animosity which to-day lie dormant.

DR. TRUEBLOOD: I am very glad that Mr. Jones and Dr. Moxom have called the Conference back to its real business. We have wandered far afield, and we have really made this morning's meeting a conference about almost everything. Something has been said about arbitration and peace being two different things, but if you study the history of the arbitration movement you will find that they are forever necessarily connected. Just in proportion as arbitration prevails and masters the field, so far peace prevails.

The arbitration movement, to which I called your attention at the commencement of the Conference, began at the opening of the last century. Let me call your attention to two facts connected with the century's progress which support what I have just asserted. At the beginning of the last century the population of the world was about six hundred and fifty millions of people. During the century it has grown to fifteen hundred millions of people, or increased nearly one hundred and forty per cent. The chief cause, or one of the chief causes, of this increase of the population of the world has been the lessening of wars by the use of pacific methods in settling international difficulties.

There is another fact of immense importance in this relation. I call your attention to it because I believe that one of the most powerful weapons with which we may successfully fight our cause is the knowledge of what the last century has done. The fact is this: In this same century the commerce of the world — a good deal has been said about the relation of commerce to peace; what I am saying now is about the relation of peace to commerce — during this century in which arbitration has settled so large a number of difficulties and lessened wars to a considerable extent, the commerce of the world has increased from fifteen hundred millions of dollars to twenty thousand millions of dollars, or about twelve hundred per cent. Nearly all of that increase has been within the last thirty years, and within the last thirty years there has been no war, not a single battle, in Western Europe. England and France, which at one time fought incessantly, have not had a war for over three-fourths of a century; France and Germany have not had a battle for over thirty years. That is, arbitration — with other forces, of course, which are working out our civilization — has produced such a state of continued peace that commerce has developed by leaps and bounds.

What we want to convince the world of to-day — these boards of trade, these chambers of commerce, these bankers and commercial men — is, that in the interests of their own business always is peace to be maintained, and that there could nothing happen to-day to the commerce of the world which would be so deadly — not only for the time, but for many years afterwards — as a great war between the civilized powers.

MR. SMILEY: I see a great many people have a fear that the decisions of the Court at The Hague will not be carried out, and

may not be enforced. I have no such fear, and I want to ask Dr. Trueblood whether in any of the cases which have been settled in the past by arbitration the nations have gone back and refused to abide by the decisions of the commission or court making the award.

Dr. Trueblood: In not a single instance in the one hundred and ninety-five cases settled in this way has there been a failure on the part of the nations interested to carry out the award of the commission, except once, and then our country was the guilty party. But in that case war did not result. The matter was finally settled by compromise.

Dr. Moxom: I want to make an explanation with reference to this matter of an international police. When I mentioned the subject I had not in mind the creation of an international force in order to enforce the judgment of the Court. It never occurred to me that that would be neccessary. But there are certain points at which the great civilized and commercial nations of the world come in contact with nations that are semi-barbarous or savage, and it seems necessary that for some time to come there should be a protective force at those points of contact. In my judgment, we shall reach the time when, instead of depending upon each nation to send out its own soldiers or sailors, there will be an international force to protect those who may need protection away from home.

Rev. Scott Hershey, LL. D.: It may be many years before we shall need to face the question of an international police, or even disarmament. I am glad the Conference has been called back to the real question before us — What next? What can we do? I am most heartily in favor of doing everything we can as a conference and as individuals to influence the national sentiment of America to urge upon our government the advisability of referring to the Hague tribunal such questions as are now pending between this country and Great Britain on the Canadian issues.

I do not believe that this Conference can accomplish more in any direction than by bringing this matter of arbitration before the young men in the colleges and universities of America. I want to suggest to my good friend, Dr. Stewart of Auburn, that he could do nothing better than to ask Dr. Trueblood to come over next winter and deliver an address — or several addresses — to those young men who are soon to enter the ministry.

Another thing — and I have been dreaming over this for months: Is it an utter impossibility to find in each of our Congressional districts a man whose mind is convinced upon this matter of arbitration, who could represent this cause in his district and associate with him a certain number of men of like views, who could together build up an influence by which pressure could be brought to bear upon the Congressman for that district in the hour of a crisis? We might not cover the whole country; we might not for a period of years be able to cover a considerable part of it; but we might be able to

make a beginning and bring to bear an influence which should be felt on the floor of Congress.

Mr. Bright: I only have one point to present now, and it is that I hope the committee on resolutions will in their wisdom conclude to condemn the proposition, which to me is an atrocious one, that this country needs a thousand soldiers for every million of its population. To my mind, this idea of General Miles is a most monstrous one, that the more we grow in civilization, the greater the spread of our churches, along with the increase of our population, the greater number of men we need in the country who depend upon the sword for their living. In the days when we numbered forty millions we had an army of twenty thousand; now we number seventy-six millions and we have an army of seventy-six thousand; and in ten years from now we shall probably have, on that hypothesis, an army of one hundred thousand. Here is an immediate evil that needs our attention. A large army is more productive of war than no army at all, and I think the sooner we get down to the smallest army possible the better we shall be off.

The Conference then adjourned till 8 o'clock.

Sixth Session.

Friday Evening, May 31, 1901.

THE closing session of the Conference was called to order by the President at 8 o'clock.

The Platform of the Conference was presented by SENATOR GILBERT of New York, who said:

It is usual for a Platform to be presented by the one who has had the principal hand in its construction. I am not that one. It is a pleasure to say that Professor Clark, to whom we listened on the first day of the Conference with so much instruction and delight, was the principal writer of this paper. Let me say, however, that it is not his paper; it is intended to be your paper. It is not expected that it will contain every idea which you entertain on the subject, nor everything which you would like to have embodied in this declaration; but it is hoped that it contains a fair average of your mind on the subject which we have had under consideration these past three days.

PLATFORM OF THE SEVENTH LAKE MOHONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

The seventh annual Conference on International Arbitration in session at Lake Mohonk extends its congratulations to all who are working for the cause in behalf of which the Conference has been called. There is encouragement to be derived from recent events, and from the present state of the world. No war between great and highly civilized powers has occurred within thirty years. During that period, more than a hundred disputes between nations have been submitted to arbitration, and in no case has any appeal to force for the execution of decisions been necessary. On the part of many philanthropic bodies there has been an increased activity, which has accomplished much in creating a public sentiment favorable to arbitration, and seems destined to accomplish still more.

In the establishment of the International Court at The Hague, there is reason for immense rejoicing and the profoundest gratitude. There is now a tribunal before which nations, great and small, may bring their controversies, with confidence that the truth will be ascertained and fair decisions rendered. It remains to call this tribunal into action to the end that particular disputes may be terminated, and that contributions may be made to international law. Certain minor wars, which were begun before the Court of Arbitration was established, have continued since that time; troubles have occurred in China, which were incidental to the contact of the

people of that country with Western life, but they promise to have, as a later effect, the bringing of an Asiatic empire within the area in which the tribunal at The Hague will operate.

The Conference has to mourn the death of an honored ex-president of the United States, Benjamin Harrison, who had been appointed a member of the High Court at The Hague, was the senior counsel for Venezuela in the arbitration between that country and Great Britain, and had expressed the intention of honoring this assembly by his presence.

The Conference expresses its sense of the great importance of making the tribunal of arbitration effective, not for the repressing of diplomatic action, but for precluding warfare where diplomacy fails. It is essential that cases which threaten to lead to war should be promptly brought before this Court, and it is highly important that minor disputes, which nations may be less reluctant to submit to adjudication, should also be brought before it in order that precedents may be created, and that the custom of appealing to the Court may be speedily and firmly established. We wish that the United States might be foremost in submitting cases to the tribunal which it has had such an honorable share in creating.

We would call the attention of all who mould public opinion to a special opportunity, that, namely, of strengthening the feeling in favor of arbitration during the critical period before the Court shall have come into full activity. Particularly should laborers who bear the brunt of wars be induced to use their collective power to prevent them. In like manner should chambers of commerce, boards of trade, bankers' associations and organizations of manufacturers and merchants in specific lines of business, as well as individual financiers, be induced to use their power for the same object. Such action is called for in behalf of their own interests, and in behalf of those greater interests of humanity which are in a sense under their guardianship. It is not too much to hope that ulterior results not immediately secured by the establishment of the tribunal at The Hague may, in the end, be gained through its action. Such a result would be the reduction of armaments and the lessening of the burdens and the temptations which they entail. Particularly is this to be hoped for in the case of the weaker nations, crushed as they are by the cost of their armies and navies. These would be unnecessary if the decisions of the High Court in any case which they might submit to it were supported in advance by guaranties such as a few powerful nations might give. A final consummation, to which it is legitimate to look forward, would be the extension of these guaranties to the greater nations themselves and the reduction of the great armaments. The Court represents a great gain already secured, and a possible one the value of which transcends all power of expression. It remains to make the greater gain a reality.

After reading the text of the proposed Platform, as above, Senator Gilbert spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN I. GILBERT.

I was not present a year ago, but I understand that the objective point aimed at then was to convert this permissive tribunal into an obligatory tribunal; in other words, to induce the nations to enter into treaties with each other whereby they would agree in advance to submit all their disputes to this great Court. During the intervening year, the International Court has been constituted, but no controversy has been submitted to it.

Looking at the situation as we find it to-day, this Conference has considered, among other things, this question, namely, — What is the next step toward the attainment of the end which we are seeking to promote? The discussion of this question has taken a wide range. It has very naturally and properly been viewed from many standpoints. The conclusion to which all have come seems to be that the next thing to be done is the bringing of causes into this Court for adjudication. It is not enough to have a court, immensely important as that is. We want to see it in operation. We want to see it enter at once upon its beneficent work and begin to establish the habit on the part of the nations of submitting their disputes to it. We want to see a beginning made which shall result not only in the settlement of particular controversies, but also in the development of international law.

What is known as international law as it stands to-day is crude, incomplete and uncertain. The elements are at hand out of which is to be formed a system of principles and rules adequate for the government of the nations in their controversies with one another. Radically, this international law is to be developed out of the sense of justice which is innate in every nation. In addition to this sense of justice, and growing out of it, there are precedents, conventions and treaties which shed light on international rights and obligations. There are certain things which the enlightened nations of the world have already agreed upon as having the binding force and effect of law. To that extent we have a body of international law which is of great value, and which has done much for the peace of the world; but it is capable of being developed into something far more definite, comprehensive and beneficent. We wish to see that work begun and carried on as speedily as possible. This was one of the expressed purposes for which the Court was created. It will be the aim of that tribunal to interpret and apply to particular cases the law as it is, and at the same time to develop it into the large and better law which should govern all nations in their dealings with each other.

While this Conference desires that causes be submitted for adjudication at the earliest practicable day, it is worthy of note that there is no disposition to trench in the slightest degree upon the province of diplomacy. The work of the Court at The Hague begins where the work of the diplomat ends. We are not disposed to be officious in

the matter of urging our government to take specific action in any particular case; but we ought to do what we can towards the creation and development of such a sentiment that all who represent us in diplomacy, in legislation, and in every place of public power, shall feel that behind them there is the mighty impulse of a mighty people incessantly impelling towards the judicial settlement of all controversies.

I wish to say a word in respect to the position in which we stand to-day as advocates of the judicial method as applied to international affairs. The first thing that comes to my mind by way of encouragement is the increasingly enlightened conscience of men. We talk about the "great powers" of the earth. We have come to see that there is a great power that is not represented upon any of our atlases, which knows no geographical or political lines: it is the power of an awakened and enlightened public conscience, which is the greatest of all the great powers upon the earth. [Applause.] To this power let us appeal, and we shall see what it can do for mankind. We shall find that this enlightened public conscience will, in proportion as it is properly appealed to, make for public righteousness, and for the fulfillment of the hopes which we all entertain, and by which we are inspired to do our work. It reminds me of the prophet Elijah and his servant. When the latter was discouraged because of what seemed to be the invincible power of their enemies, the prophet prayed that the eyes of his servant might be opened that he might SEE the chariots and horses in the mountains standing ready to help them. So let us pray that our eyes may be opened, that we too may have a vision of the mighty forces with which we are cöoperating, and which are ever at hand to consummate our noblest endeavors.

When we go down from this mountain of inspiration and of conference, shall it not be with a quickened and energized purpose to appeal to these ever-present, prevailing forces and cöoperate with them in bringing about those results which are to bless mankind and honor the Name you have daily invoked for counsel and guidance?

I move the adoption of this Platform as the expression of your own thought and aspiration and purpose.

Mr. Wheeler of New York seconded the adoption of the Platform, speaking as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. EVERETT P. WHEELER.

In rising to second the motion of Senator Gilbert, I desire to present for your consideration one thought that has impressed itself very much upon my mind during the Conference.

It seems to me that the great obstacle to the success of the principle for which we are contending is a certain — shall I call it "insularity?" — a certain apprehension, a certain distrust which lingers in parts of these United States concerning our neighbors — for such

they have become — our neighbors across the sea. The telegraph and the steamship have brought us very close together, and yet you will find in our discussions in Congress, in our discussions in the newspapers, a constant apprehension expressed, as if these neighbors whom we sometimes call our "brethren" were not even "brothers-in-law," but persons concerning whom we need feel a good deal of apprehension, and from whose malign influences in various ways we need a good deal of protection.

Now it is a matter of common knowledge that the greatest obstacle to an agreement, the greatest obstacle to the submission of differences to any tribunal, is mutual distrust. It seems to me that this feeling, which so often creeps out in so many different ways, is a survival of the time when the thirteen colonies made up the United States of America; when they were feeble in every respect, and their numbers were few; when they were scattered over the slopes of the Alleghanies and along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and when communication between them was difficult. The men of those times were poor, but they had noble aspirations, and we honor them. The greatest honor we can do to their memory is to live according to the principles which guided them, and not to follow blindly and servilely every custom which was good in their time, but which has ceased to be applicable to ours.

The United States of America is now the richest and most powerful nation on the globe. But we have not come to realize the responsibility which that entails upon us. We do not need protection against foreign powers any more, in any just sense of the word. We need, on the contrary, to cultivate the friendliest feelings toward them, and to feel that the very fact of our wealth and our power and our intelligence imposes upon us a duty towards them. And the first of all duties toward foreign nations is the duty of friendliness and good-will. [Applause.] Is it not a fact that the most bitter wars have been the offspring of racial hatred and racial prejudice? My own observation abroad is that certainly in England, and I believe in France and in Germany, there is very much less jealousy of this country than there is underlying our temper towards them; that they have really less apprehension of us in the future than we have shown towards them in the past.

Therefore I conclude with urging upon the Conference, by every means in our power,— with the newspapers where they are open to us, through business organizations where we have opportunity, whereever in short our influence may extend,— to persistently cultivate that spirit of friendliness and good-will which is the sure foundation of peace, and without which no durable peace can possibly exist.

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff also seconded the adoption of the Platform, speaking as follows :

ADDRESS OF MR. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF.

I presume that most of you were impressed, as I have been, during the various sessions of this interesting Conference, with the mingled idealism and practicability of the suggestions and addresses. I happen to have with me the proof of a speech I recently made, in which I quote from a well-known writer on political science, which expresses so clearly the thought that I have in mind concerning this Conference, that I am going to read it as a part of my speech to-night seconding these resolutions :

"The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fulness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal. But the zeal of the propagandist needs to be supplemented by the skill of the politician. While the one need not fear to arouse opposition, the other should seek to minimize resistance. The political art, like the military art, consists in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance; and, to bring a principle most quickly and effectively into practical politics, the measure which presents it should be so moderate as (while involving the principle) to secure the largest support and excite the least resistance. For whether the first step be long or short is of little consequence. When a start is once made in a right direction, progress is a mere matter of keeping on. It is in this way that great questions always enter the phase of political action."

I am sure that we have made that start in this matter of international arbitration, and that the function and duty of this Conference at this session, and at future sessions, is to keep it going on. The Platform which has been presented by Senator Gilbert to-night is a move in that direction, and already the "practical politicians" in the very best sense of the term have taken hold of the matter.

The suggestion has several times been made upon the floor of this Conference that we should have practical politicians here. We have them here. I could mention several members of this Conference — active, aggressive, energetic and interesting members of this Conference — who are practical politicians,— men who are practically interested in molding the political thoughts of this country, and at the same time helping to press forward the cause of international arbitration. I take it as a matter of profound satisfaction that Mr. Smiley has been able to bring together men of such force in forming public opinion. We have an idea that a man cannot be a politician unless he holds office; and yet, as a matter of fact, some of the most "practical" politicians never hold office; they simply aim to control those who do hold office. We have with us not only the idealists, but also the men who are actively at work putting ideals into force and effect.

There is another phase of the subject that interests me strongly.

I do not care for Sunday religion; I like to see a man practice his religion six days in the week; and so I honor the man who believes in practical arbitration three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and who is constantly at work trying to get others to believe the same. When you vote for these resolutions, as an expression of your thought and judgment concerning the question of international arbitration in this year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one, do so with the determination that you are going to endeavor to put into practical force and effect those ideas, and to promote that enlightened public conscience to which Senator Gilbert has already referred.

There is too much of a tendency to withhold individual effort. Let us realize that it is the multitude of blades of grass that make the greensward, and that if you take enough of these blades away you have a barren spot. So in this Conference, if each one of us does not realize the value of doing all that one can, we cannot have the enlightened conscience without which no good cause can go forward. When we vote for these resolutions to-night, let us feel that it is an individual matter that each and every one of us must bear upon our souls during the coming year, and that we must come here next year with an account of our stewardship. If each one goes away with the feeling of individual responsibility, then I am sure that we will come here a year hence with a greater public sentiment back of us.

You recall how both last year and this year reference was made to the profound effect on the Hague Conference of the cablegrams that were received by members of that Conference from this Conference, and from all over this country, and the cablegram from Oshkosh has become historic. Now, suppose the people who sent these messages had said, "We are only so many people living in an unknown place in the United States. What will the members of the Conference at The Hague care for what we may think or say upon this subject?" If they had said that, and acted upon it, one of the great landmarks of our history,—the International Court at the Hague—might not yet exist.

Let us realize that we have an individual responsibility, and that upon our calling that personal responsibility into activity depends the success of the movement for which we are gathered here.

The question being upon the adoption of the Platform, it was unanimously accepted.

Rev. Dr. Sagebeer of Germantown was then introduced, and spoke as follows:

I beg leave to offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the members of the seventh Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration express to Mr. and Mrs. Albert K. Smiley and Mr. and Mrs. Daniel M. Smiley, our hearty appreciation of the charming hospitality with which they have welcomed us to their mountain home. We recognize and we

value the personal influence of our host in the intellectual vigor and in the catholic spirit which have always characterized these conferences. In this propaganda we believe that he is largely contributing to the cause of international arbitration and to the promotion of universal peace.

Mr. Chairman: It is in no merely perfunctory way that I offer this resolution, but with the very deep conviction that the hope so confidently expressed by every one who has spoken during the days of this Conference is a hope that must certainly be realized.

In turning over in one's mind the various things that have been said during these days concerning the reasons for which one may appeal to friends and the wide world for the principles upon which our platform stands, it seems to me that we, as American people, above all others, may confidently appeal to the people because it is the will of God. I have a friend who has a Damascus sword given to him by a soldier in the Turkish army. It is of fine fibre and temper, and has these words on the blade in the Turkish language: "The sword goes forth to war, but there is no victory except from Allah." We, as a Christian nation, have a right to speak the highest words of praise for an instrument of peace, but with it all let us say: "The Court goes forth to its mission of peace, but there is no victory except from God." So I shall go home to my church and my people and say: "I look for the triumph of international arbitration because it is the will of God."

The resolution presented by Dr. Sagebeer was seconded by Rev. George E. Horr, D.D., of Boston, editor of "The Watchman," who said:

ADDRESS OF GEORGE E. HORR, D.D.

I have been tempted sometimes during the last two or three days to wonder whether our zeal and enthusiasm for the principle of international arbitration would lead us, at great hardship and cost, to go to some desert place and hold a conference. The Bible says of wisdom: "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace," and Mr. Smiley has done what he can to make the ways of wisdom pleasant for us. It seems so conventional to express, in the usual terms, appreciation of the hospitality that we have enjoyed, and yet how can we use any other? The relation of language to thought and sentiment is the relation of an electric wire to the message that it transmits. You say "Thank you," and it may be a purely conventional expression of appreciation, or you may put into those words the deepest gratitude of your heart. So when we say that we appreciate this gracious hospitality, Mr. Smiley, that we thank you for it, that we respect your service in this great cause, we want to put into these simple words a deep, strong meaning. They express far more than the usual interpretation of the words.

I was not at all surprised at the discursiveness of the discussion

this morning. Almost every gentleman who had a moral idea seemed to be anxious to connect it with international arbitration. [Laughter.] And yet the connection actually was closer than was apparent; for in reality this cause represents the triumph of reason, of conscience over the brute instincts of man. It stands for the supremacy of moral forces in the world, and we are to trust in this triumph.

I am glad that the proposition to favor an international army to enforce the decisions of the Court of Arbitration has received comparatively little favor here. A great many references have been made, Mr. Chairman, to Rhode Island. The great service that Roger Williams rendered to the world is expressed in his declaration: "The civil magistrate hath no power over offences committed against the first table of the law." That was the enunciation of the principle of soul liberty, and moral forces, such as are represented in the cause of arbitration, need least of all assistance from the physical powers of government.

One of the best things, I think, that has been said here was said by Dr. Trueblood in answer to the question, How many nations have refused to accept the decision of a court of arbitration? His answer was that out of one hundred and ninety-five cases submitted to arbitration, the nations, with one exception, have accepted the decision of the court. That is a resplendent testimony to the triumph of moral forces.

There is reason for doubt whether we always appreciate to the full all that happened in the formation of the great tribunal at The Hague. We do not yet see the full result of that conference. Mr. Andrew D. White, in the introduction to his book on "The Conflict of Science and Religion," says that while he was minister to St. Petersburg, looking out of the window of the American Embassy one morning, he saw men boring little holes at regular intervals in the ice of the river Neva. He asked his servant the purpose of this, and the reply was: "The men are boring those holes so that as the sun rises higher it may pour its rays down into them. If you will watch the river day by day you will see the ice between those holes beginning to crack, and by and by, when the high spring tide comes, the loosened ice will be carried out to sea." Mr. White says he watched the Neva day by day, and found it even so. Between these drill points the thick ice cracked, and when the high tide came the frozen river was broken up, and the Neva was free. Something like that takes place with reference to these great reforms. All we can do may seem, perhaps, only a drill point here and there that we are putting down; but the drill point is the prophecy of the open river. [Applause.]

More than this; there is a sentiment that has been alluded to time and again in this Conference, of a new feeling of Christian brotherhood throughout the world that is promoting its ends. I think one of the finest stanzas of modern poetry — not perhaps as poetry, but for its sentiment — is those lines of Kipling in his "East and West" ballad:

"Oh, east is east, and west is west, and never the twain shall meet
Till earth and sky stand presently at God's great judgment seat!
But oh, there's neither east nor west, nor border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth!"

I would like to make only one change in Kipling's verses, and make them read:

"But oh, there's neither east nor west, nor border nor breed nor birth,
When Christian men stand face to face, though they come from the ends of the earth!"

[Applause.]

The resolution presented by Dr. Sagebeer was then adopted by a rising vote.

Upon motion of Mr. Lapham, the Chair appointed a Publication Committee: Benjamin F. Trueblood, Chairman; William J. Rose and Alexander C. Wood.

Upon motion of Mr. A. K. Smiley, it was voted: That the Chairman of the Executive Committee have the power to call that Committee together whenever the exigencies of public events may require, with power to speak in the name of this Conference.

Mr. Woodruff offered the following resolution, which was adopted. In presenting it, Mr. Woodruff said that he did so at the request of the Business Committee, and that he hoped it would be taken in the spirit of Dr. Horr's address. The Chairman also stated that this resolution had practically been adopted in the Platform, but that he understood it was put in this form to make it more personal to each member:

Resolved, That each member of the Conference be requested to bring the subject of international arbitration to the attention of the Boards of Trade, Chambers of Commerce and other commercial bodies in their neighborhood, to the end that resolutions be adopted favoring the principle of international arbitration.

Mr. Robert Treat Paine, on behalf of the Business Committee, presented the following resolutions:

That the President of this Conference, or in his absence the Chairman of the Business Committee, be authorized to appoint a committee to attend the Congress of American Republics, to be held in the city of Mexico, in order to urge upon that Congress the adoption of the principle of the settlement by arbitration of all disputes that may arise between them.

That the President of this Conference, or in his absence the Chairman of the Business Committee, be authorized to appoint a committee to visit the President of the United States and present to him the Platform adopted by this Conference.

Both resolutions were unanimously adopted.

President Taylor of Vassar College, was then introduced, and spoke as follows:

I wish to present to the Conference a few facts bearing upon the action of the former Congress of the Pan-American Powers.

I ought to say by way of explanation, that last evening in speaking with Mr. Francis Forbes of New York, who was unable to remain through to-day, and in mentioning to him something of the desirability of bringing a resolution of this sort before the Conference in view of the approaching meeting of representatives of the American republics, I was informed that such a resolution was to be offered, and he told me that he meant to speak to the Conference upon this question.

At a meeting about eleven years ago, in April, 1890, the Committee on General Welfare, as it was called, of that Conference, which was held in the city of Washington, reported a series of resolutions, articles, a plan for arbitration among the American powers, and subsequently passed a resolution recommending that the same principles should be applied, if possible, in the relations of European powers to the American powers. There is a forcible and eloquent preamble offered by the Committee, and then the organization of tribunals of arbitration are provided for in eleven articles. These articles, curiously — and, as it seems to me, very broadly — suggest that the arbitrators may be governments, tribunals of justice, scientific bodies, public officials or private individuals. This suggestion was certainly a very liberal one for eleven years ago. The rest of the articles concern the mode of appointment, the question of a majority of the arbitrators, and so on, and that I need not weary you with.

At the Congress there were many speeches and discussions. There is nothing particularly important to this Conference in them, except as to the attitude of Mexico and Chile in connection with the proposition. The Mexican delegate, Mr. Romero, objected to particular points in the plan, though he made it abundantly evident that Mexico as a nation stood for arbitration. The address of the speaker for Chile, Mr. Varas, indicates that the nation of Chile is thoroughly in favor of arbitration, which she has used again and again. Mr. Varas's address is a very long one, and very able from the point of view from which he spoke. In it he objects to the authority of the committee which suggests the plan, and especially raises the point that the committee has insisted that the obligation shall be in the matter of disputes that are already on, or that have already arisen. Indeed, from the beginning to the end, the representatives of Chile refused to vote upon the proposition, though stating their general sympathy with international arbitration, or rather with arbitration among the American powers. Mexico afterwards proposed a plan, the purpose of which was to avoid the difficulties of the scheme of the committee, but it was not voted on at all, I think. In the final vote there were sixteen States which voted "Yes." Chile refused to vote, and Mexico voted for the principle in general, but not for the rules in detail.

The articles were afterwards fully discussed in detail and were acted upon and passed substantially in the form recommended by the committee. And finally, at a subsequent meeting of the Convention, it was also urged, as I have said, that this plan should be

laid before the powers of Europe, and that they should be urged to adopt this plan of arbitration in regard to all American affairs.

I simply bring up these points to show the importance of our making some representation in this Pan-American Congress which is to meet so soon in the city of Mexico.

Mr. A. K. Smiley: Before that very kind resolution which you passed gets too cold, I want to thank you very heartily for your kind expressions in reference to myself and my wife, and my brother and his wife.

It gives me the greatest pleasure to have you come here and discuss what I consider one of the most important questions that can come before a people, that of settling disputes without resorting to the barbarous methods of war. I am not so optimistic as to think that war is going to cease entirely at once. I see persons in even religious assemblies get a good deal excited, and a little warlike spirit arise even there. But I do expect to see the time — and I am sure that many of you will see the time — when a large proportion of international disputes will be referred to the Court at The Hague. I do want the suggestion which was presented by the Secretary here to be carried out, — that every member of this Conference shall go home and make up his mind to do something to enlighten public opinion on the importance of this subject, so that the nation shall not laugh — as the newspapers sometimes do — at the Hague Conference, as if it were a sort of comical thing. I believe that the Court at The Hague will be before long a mighty power in the earth, and that its formation is the most important event of the past century.

I think this Conference has been very successful, and we propose to continue holding these Conferences. My brother is just as interested as I am, and he is twenty-seven years my junior, and we will have this thing go on here for many years. We would like to have suggestions from any one who feels that next year certain subjects should be brought before this Conference. It would be good to have these suggestions in writing sent here before the Conference meets, and then we could possibly arrange for a few papers as a basis of the discussions.

We have been wonderfully favored this year with having a good set of officers. I feel sure of one thing, and that is that we have hit upon the right man for Chairman, and I feel just as sure that we have hit upon the right men for an Executive Committee, also for Secretary and Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Smiley, a vote of thanks was then extended to the Chairman, the Executive Committee, the Press Committee, the Secretary and the Treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Jenkins, seconded by Dr. Trueblood, it was unanimously voted that the Business Committee take steps to have a copy of the Platform of this Conference forwarded through the

proper channel to the President of the Administrative Council of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague.

The Chairman expressed his gratitude for the vote of thanks, and stated that owing to the lateness of the hour, the Committee felt obliged to cancel from the program an address from Prof. J. C. Bracq of Vassar College, whom he felt sure the Conference would have been very glad to hear, not only for his own sake, but also because he is a representative of France. He then called upon the Rev. Dr. Hale for the closing address of the Conference.

DOCTOR HALE'S ADDRESS.

I had promised myself the pleasure of summing up in a few words what we want to remember, "lest we forget" the pregnant lessons taught us by Mr. Logan; the very important suggestions made by Mr. W. Martin Jones; the invaluable advice which the Chairman of the Committee gave to his clients, which I wish he would give to all of us — to take their case before the Hague Court; and the masterly statement of Professor Clark. There is enough for us to consider as the year goes on, if we really mean to carry this thing forward. If we do not mean to do this, let us never come here again.

Let us go home thanking God that we are the representatives of the people of the United States. I think the motto of this Conference might well be the words which were spoken by a statesman of our own country sixty years ago, soon after the American Peace Society was born, when he said, "The United States of America is the greatest Peace Society that God's sun ever shone upon." That is the truth. It is a Society consisting not of four hundred people, or four thousand people, but of forty-five States, that first of all in the Christian civilization, in modern civilization, agreed to stand together, to bear each other's burdens, "that they all might be one," — to take the most sacred of phrases, — *E Pluribus Unum*, one made out of many; and who, best of all, appointed a tribunal which should hear all disputes arising between themselves, and should decide them.

The telegraph, the railway, the telephone, everything of that kind, has tended to bring the sixty-seven nations of the world into a closer relation to each other than the thirteen colonies were in the year 1785. The thirteen colonies had the wisdom to come together, and to bind themselves together in a nation with a life of its own. The United States has thus given a great example to the sixty-seven nations of the world, and they by a very long step — a step which surprises us — are following our example. I do not think we ought to lose that grand pride of leading the way.

I should say that the greatest peace document — if you please to call it so — ever issued by the United States was when, a few years ago, it heard that the people in Russia were starving, and sent five thousand tons of food to the relief of that Empire, which was one of

the first nations to recognize the United States when it was an infant. This was done not by Act of Congress, not by Acts of the State Legislatures; it was done by the farmers and the mill owners of the great valley of the Mississippi, giving lessons to us upon the seaboard as to the way in which one brother in the family of nations takes care of another brother.

Mr. Edgar, the head of that enterprise, has published a book about it. When they arrived in Russia, he says, archbishops and bishops were there to bless the food as it started on its way. It went into I-don't-know-how-many districts of Southern Russia, and the consequence is that to-day the Russian peasant who knows nothing else about America, knows that it is the country which fed him when he was hungry. That is what happened when the people of the United States chose to feed a people whose language they could not speak, of whom all they knew was that they were brothers in a world in which all men are made of one blood, in which all men have one Saviour, and in which all men are children of one God.

I cannot help thinking that there may be occasions when a peace tract like that may be sent out by this Conference to some starving province of China, to some starving island in the Pacific.

What has been said to-night of the power that each of us has of going out into the world to maintain this Gospel of love, of glad tidings, which makes the world really one, is something well worth our remembering. And if we do remember it, it will carry the work of this Conference to another year, and perhaps to another generation. We are all scattering to go home to the forty-five different States, but I am sure we feel more than we ever felt, that we are all brothers and sisters in one work, and we thank God that He has so ordered things that each one of us has a share in the duty, in the responsibility and in the blessing. [Applause.]

At the close of Dr. Hale's address all joined in the hymn, "God be With You Till We Meet Again," after which the Chairman declared the Conference adjourned without day.

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BOYNTON, HON. ELEAZER, Medford, Mass.
BRACQ, PROF. J. C. and MRS., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
BRADFORD, DR. A. H. and MRS., Montclair, N. J.
BRIGHT, MAJ. M. H., Tarrytown, N. Y.
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GREENE, REV. DR. J. M., San Juan, Porto Rico.
HALE, DR. E. E., Boston, Mass.
HALL, REV. DR. and MRS., Troy, N. Y.

Hallock, Rev. J. N., New York.
Haskins, David G., Jr., Cambridge, Mass.
Hershey, Rev. Dr. S. F. and Mrs., Newtonville, Mass.
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Schmidt, Prof. Nathaniel, Ithaca, N. Y.
Scudder, Dr. Doremus and Mrs., Woburn, Mass.
Scudder, Prof. M. T. and Mrs., New Paltz, N. Y.
Shipman, Judge N., Hartford, Conn.
Shrigley, Pres. J. M. and Mrs., Lansdowne, Pa.
Shumway, F. P. and Mrs., Melrose, Mass.
Smiley, Mr. A. H., Minnewaska, N. Y.
Smiley, Mr. A. K., Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
Smiley, Daniel and Mrs., Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
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